ALLEN'S DEFENCE OF ENGLISH CATHOLICS: 1584. I.

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ALLEN'S DEFENCE OF ENGLISH CATHOLICS, 1584.

VOL. I.

ROEHAMPTON:
PRINTED BY JOHN GRIFFIN.

A TRUE, SINCERE AND MODEST DEFENCE OF ENGLISH CATHOLICS THAT SUFFER FOR THEIR FAITH BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD, AGAINST A FALSE, SEDITIOUS AND SLANDEROUS LIBEL, ENTITLED: "THE EXECUTION OF JUSTICE IN ENGLAND."

Wherein is declared how unjustly the Protestants do charge Catholics with treason; how untruly they deny their persecution for Religion; and how deceitfully they seek to abuse strangers about the cause, greatness, and manner of their sufferings, with divers other matters pertaining to this purpose.

BY

WILLIAM ALLEN

VOL. I

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WITHDRAWN

WITH A PREFACE BY
HIS EMINENCE THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.

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PREFACE.

To appreciate rightly the importance of this reprint of Allen's "A true sincere and modest defence of English Catholiques that suffer for their Faith both at home and abrode against a false seditious and slanderous libel intituled THE EXECUTION OF JUSTICE IN ENGLAND," it is necessary to recall the period and the circumstances of the time when it was written. Allen, born in Lancashire in 1532, had left England definitely in 1565. After a visit to Rome, which indirectly led to the fulfilment of a project long meditated of gathering together those who had been obliged to leave home in order to practise their religion freely, and at the same time of providing some means of preparing a succession of English Priests to keep alive the faith in England, he settled at Douai, and there, on Michaelmas Day, 1568, made a beginning of his College.

The first Seminary Priest to lay down his life was the Blessed Cuthbert Mayne, martyred at Launceston in 1577. In 1581 forty-three Priests were ordained at Douai, of whom no less than fifteen were ultimately put to death. And in the suc-

ceeding year each annual ordination prepared fresh victims for the hatred of the persecutors.

The coming of these companies of Priests ordained beyond the seas was a matter of deep concern and sore disappointment to those who were bent on separating England definitely from the Apostolic See, and of uprooting the Catholic Faith. They had treated the older clergy, survivors of those ordained under Queen Mary or earlier, with a certain clemency, looking forward to the day when these rapidly ageing men and the old belief would together die a natural death. And they now beheld descending upon the country younger men, full of zeal for the preservation of the older order in religion, and specially prepared and equipped to safeguard the faith of those who still believed, and to dissipate the errors and the prejudices of those who had been misled. A determined effort was made to exterminate the new-comers by death, if they dared to remain in the country. Such an outbreak of torture and bloodshed could not fail to excite astonishment and provoke hostile criticism on the part of Catholics in foreign countries; and, to justify the action of the Government, a pamphlet was issued entitled "The execution of justice," the whole object of which was to show that those who were suffering in England were condemned, not on account of their religious opinions,

but solely because they were traitors to their Sovereign. The tract was issued anonymously, but it is known that it was written by William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer and principal minister to Queen Elizabeth. It is thus the highest authority for the contemporary official Protestant view of the position of the Seminary Priests.

Meanwhile political events had obliged Allen, in 1578, to leave Douai and to take refuge at Rheims, and it was there that, in 1584, he wrote the treatise which is now reprinted.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this work. It takes us at once to the very heart of the controversies which then divided, and still, unhappily, divide our country; and it makes us see again those controversies as they appeared to the eyes of those who were nearer than we are, by more than three hundred years, to the source and origin of the religious strife. Then the matters in real dispute were not obscured as they have since often been, either by forgetfulness of the cause of the contention, or by indifference as to its subject; but men on both sides knew perfectly well that the differences between those who desired to maintain the old order and their opponents were fundamental, and no mere superficial discord easy of adjustment. It is a clear-cut contest between Catholic and Protestant, terms unhesitatingly accepted

as true and adequate on either side, neither side using or caring for the modern euphemisms of Anglicans, or Anglo-Catholics, or non-Catholics. To be a Catholic was to recognize the authority of the "See Apostolique." To be a Protestant was to declare that the Pope of Rome has no authority within these realms. No one, then, would have ventured to assert that no radical change had taken place at the Reformation. It was felt that there was a conflict between the old religion and the new of so determined a character that the upholders of the new settlement of religion felt themselves compelled to inflict the penalty of death upon their opponents.

Allen, as the readers of his book will see, had a comparatively easy task in showing the futility of Lord Burghley's plea that our martyrs were put to death, not for their religion, but for high treason; and he bases his argument mainly on the fact that the practices now regarded and condemned as treasonable find no place in the old English law on treason, "so made and set down by Parliament in Edward the Third's time," but are truly Catholic customs and usages now for the first time in our history made treasonable by statutes passed solely in the interest of the new religion, and bearing no relation whatever to treason in its commonly accepted sense. It is an easy way of getting rid of

an opponent to declare treasonable the ordinances of his religion, such as " ministering the holy Sacraments, obeying the Apostolic See, persuading our friends to be Catholics, the Priesthood and the like," and then to condemn him to a traitor's death simply because he has practised what his religion prescribed. But he does not become a traitor thereby. In addition to this general argument, applied in many different ways, Allen replies at length to the various implications of participation in treasonable attempts urged by Lord Burghley, and shows that, however these attempts may be characterized in themselves, there is no shred of proof that any of our Martyrs were in any way connected with them.

Incidentally we get glimpses of Allen's opinion of the condition of Catholics in England at the period when he wrote. In the Preface he tells us how men " do glorify Our Lord God, that all the Clergy . . . and so many of the laity of all sorts constantly persist in their father's faith . . . and that the whole state . . . may yet be rather counted Catholic than heretical." In the eighth chapter he declares that two-thirds of the nation are " Catholic in their hearts, and consequently are discontented with the present condition of things ": and he speaks of the other " zealous and sincere Catholics " as being " marvellous many "

and "the number by God's goodness daily increasing." In the concluding chapter he bears testimony "to the infinite number of all estates that never consented to this iniquity," *i.e.*, the persecution. And he recalls the interest in the religious condition of England shown throughout the Christian world. "No Church, no Company, no Monastery or College of name in Christendom, that with earnest devotion and public fasts and prayers laboureth not to God for mercy towards us."

Thus, in a few pages, this treatise gives us an answer to the charge, still sometimes renewed, that those who gave their lives for the Catholic Faith in England in the sixteenth century were in reality men disloyal to Queen and country. More valuable still, in view of the attitude of so many among the most earnest of our fellow-countrymen at the present day, is the light thrown upon the recently-discovered continuity that, we are told, exists between the Established Church of England and the Catholic Church in England before the Reformation. To such a groundless theory the lives and deaths of our Blessed Martyrs are the best and most conclusive reply. They knew, and they gave their lives because they knew, that a fundamental change was being wrought in the religious condition of our country. To those who know their history,

—and this treatise is a fresh illustration of the real causes of their martyrdom,—continuity of the kind now so often asserted is a very grim travesty of fact.

FRANCIS CARDINAL BOURNE,
Archbishop of Westminster.

November 9th, 1913.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE text from which this edition is reprinted bears no date, nor place, nor author's name, but is the original edition which appeared in 1584. It has been thought better to modernize the spelling, not only for convenience of reading, but also because it is well known that the printed version by no means coincides with the author's manuscript. Here and there a few changes have been made in the punctuation; but this has been sparingly done, lest the swinging stride of Allen's prose should be hampered. The marginal notes and headings have been with reluctance omitted; to have added adequate historical notes would have expanded the volumes beyond the designed limits. We are deeply indebted to the Rev. W. Bodkin, S.J., Rector of Stonyhurst, for the loan of the original copy belonging to the Stonyhurst library.

Manresa House,
Roehampton, S.W.

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THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

ALBEIT the late pamphlet, entitled "The Execution of Justice," put forth in divers languages, for defence or excuse of the violent proceeding against Catholics in England, and for accusation as well of them at home as of us their fellows in faith abroad, passing forth without privilege and name either of writer or printer (even thence where such matter is specially current, and might easily have been authorized); and moving indiscreet, odious, and dangerous disputes of estate, replenished with manifest untruths, open slanders of innocent persons, and namely with immodest malediction and seditious motions against the chief Bishop, the Prince of God's people; though (I say) it might rightly have been reputed an infamous libel, either to be contemned, or with such freedom of speech refelled, as that manner of writing doth deserve: yet considering the matter, meaning, and phrase thereof to be agreeable to the humour and liking of some in authority; and the book not only not suppressed (as divers others of that argument, seeming over simple to the wiser Protestants, of late have been), but often printed, much recommended, diligently divulged, and sought to be privileged in foreign places, where for shame they durst not publicly allow it at home, yes, and in a

manner thrust into the hands of strangers, and therefore like to proceed (though in close sort) from authority: we are forced, and in truth very well contented and glad it hath pleased God to give this occasion, or rather necessity, to yield (for the answer of the said book) our more particular account, in the behalf of our Catholic brethren dead and alive, at home and in banishment.

Which we will do sincerely, as in the sight of Christ Jesus, the just Judge of the world, and all His saints, in such humble, mild, and temperate manner as beseemeth our profession, and the audience; which audience we crave with tears of the whole Church and Christian world, and of all that are placed in power and sublimity over us in our own country or elsewhere; that so our cause may be discerned both by God and man, and our unspeakable calamities, either by the intercession of many, relieved, or by the general compassion of all our faithful brethren, made to us more tolerable. Loth we are, and odious it may be counted, to speak in such matter as must needs in some sort touch our superiors; but God's truth and man's innocency are privileged, and may in humble seemly wise be defended, against whomsoever. And our pen (God willing) shall be so tempered herein, that it shall displease no reasonable reader, nor surely scare them (if it may be), against whom in our inculpable defence we are forced to write.

We have in this case examples enough of Christian modesty in the ancient apologies of holy Fathers in Christ his Church, as of St. Justin, Ter-

tullian, Athanasius, Hilarius and others, writing to their princes that persecuted, either by error or infidelity, the faithful people. Whose style and steps so long as we follow, we shall be blameless in the sight of all wise and good men; and offend none to whom the plain truth itself is not odious. As on the other side we have in our adversaries' late books, for immodest railing, contemptuous phrase, slanderous speech, blasphemous words, false, reproachful, seditious matter, and all inhonest scurrility, what to abhor and detest, and what to avoid, in these our writings, which we would have most unlike theirs, and not only allowable to our friends, but (if it were possible, and so pleased our merciful Lord to give us grace in their sight) not ingrateful to our persecutors, whose salvation (as Christ knoweth) we seek in all these our endeavours, together with the maintenance of truth, more than our own defence and purgation.

Whereupon otherwise, for our own only honour and interest, we would not so formally stand against so honourable adversaries in this world, if we thought their hearts (which are in God's hands) were not upon evident reason and remonstrance of our innocence, inclinable to mercy and better consideration of their own state and ours; or that their accusation of us afflicted Catholics, were not joined to the general reprehension of the whole Church, and the principal pastors thereof, whom by the law of our Christian religion we ought to respect more than our own lives, and in causes of our soul and conscience, to obey above any earthly prince, by

what other obligation soever we be bound unto him.

And as we would gladly pass in this our answer with such equability and indifference, that in defence of the spiritual power (which by our adversaries' importunity we are driven in manner against our wills to treat of) we might not justly offend the temporal, acknowledging in divers respects all humble duty to them both; so writing nothing that any man shall be able to prove untrue, either in fact or faith, we trust in the reader's equity, be he Catholic or Protestant, that in so faultless and necessary a defence of ourselves, and of our superiors, as also of the common cause of our Christian faith and conscience, he will not judge our writing seditious, slanderous or infamous libelling (as the nameless author of this invective, against whom we treat, unchristianly and uncourteously calleth other our brethren's books), recording only the heavy persecution, torments and deaths of Catholics, in such simple, plain and sincere sort, as indeed all things were done: and so as no man living can truly either charge the reporters of fiction or falsehood, or of any evil intention of defaming to strangers their superiors' dealings, in making relation of our dear country's most doleful calamities. For the things there done daily in public cannot otherwise be hidden from the world; and seeing they are passed by law, and order of pretended justice, there can be no cause why themselves should dislike the divulging thereof; except they acknowledge in their conscience some iniquity and dishonourable defect in their

proceedings, against the most innocent persons whom daily they torment and make away.

We are not so perversely affected (God be praised) as purposely to dishonour our Prince and country, for whose love in Christ so many have so meekly lost their lives; or to reveal their turpitude, which we would rather cover (if it were possible) from the eyes of the world with our own blood: but we set forth the truth of all these actions for the honour of our nation, which otherwise, to her infinite shame and reproach, would be thought wholly and generally to have revolted from the Catholic faith, and consented to all the absurdities and iniquities of this new regiment and religion, if none with zeal and extreme endeavour resisted such pernicious innovations. Where now as well our own people, as all strangers in the Christian world, perceiving the disorder to proceed but of the partiality of a few powerful persons abusing her Majesty's clemency and credulity, do glorify our Lord God, that in so great a temptation all the clergy in manner, and so many of the laity of all sorts, constantly persist in their fathers' faith, to the loss of goods, lands, lives, honours, and whatsoever besides: and that the whole state (excepting the authority of the Prince) may yet be rather counted Catholic than heretical: this is the honour of our nation in all places, which otherwise (for double revolt and recidivation into schism, and for extreme persecution) would be counted remediless, hopeless, and of all other places most infamous.

Secondly, we set forth these things for the memory and honour of such notable martyrs as have testified the truth of the Catholic faith by their precious death. Which was an ancient canon and custom of the primitive Church, which appointed certain special persons of skill and learning to note the days of every one's glorious confession and combat, that their memories might afterwards be solemnly celebrated for ever among Christians.

Thirdly, we do it to communicate our calamities with our brethren in faith, and the Church of other provinces standing free from this misery, both for their warning and our comfort, and to excite in them Christian compassion towards us; that thereby, and by their counsel and prayers, we may find mercy and relief at God's hands: by the example of the Oriental Churches afflicted by the Arians, which, as we may read in St. Basil, in their like distresses, made their general complaints by often letters and messengers, to the west Churches, standing more entire and void of that heresy and persecution.

Finally, we are forced to publish these things so particularly and diligently, to defend the doings of the said holy confessors and their fellows in faith, against the manifold slanders and calumniations of certain heretics or politics, unjustly charging them with treason, and other great trespasses against the Commonwealth, to avert the eyes of the simple from the true causes of their suffering; and to disappoint the holy personages (if they could) of the honour done to martyrs in God's Church.

For that is one special cause among many, why they had rather make them away for forged treason, or other feigned offences, than for profession of the truth, which in their heart they hate more than any crime in the world. St. Gregory Nazianzen lively expresseth the condition of all heretics in the behaviour of Julian the Apostate, thus writing of him: "He openly and boldly professing impiety, yet by colour of clemency covered his cruelty; and lest we should attain to the honours done customable to Martyrs (which he disdained to the Christians), he used namely this fraud and deceit, that such as he caused to be tormented for Christ's sake, should be thought and reported to be punished not for their faith, but as malefactors."

For discovery therefore of this sinful and deceitful dealing of our adversaries (who not contented with the death and torments of God's saints would punish them by ignominy after their life), we are driven to this dutiful office of their and the holy Church's defence, whose honour and innocency we may not betray for a thousand deaths.

Wherein we are not much terrified by the vain and vulgar exordium of the author of this invective which we now must refute, who beginneth above all art (after their manner) with a common sentence, as meet for us and our matter, as for him and his cause, telling us that it is a common usage of all offenders, and especially rebels and traitors, to make defence of their lewd and unlawful facts, by covering their deeds with pretence of other causes. Which speech, as it might be used where

any such trespass could be proved, so is it fondly said where no crime can be avouched; as in the process of this treatise shall be (by God's grace) most clearly convinced. And it might not only be applied by the old heathen or heretical persecutors against the first apostles and martyrs of Christ, being falsely charged with the same crimes as we be now, and answered for themselves as we do; but may much more be verified and found in public persons and commonwealths, when they err or commit iniquity, than in any poor, private, or afflicted persons, be they never so guilty. For princes and communities in disorder have a thousand pretences, excuses, and colours of their unjust actions; they have the name of authority, the shadow of laws, the pens and tongues of infinite at their commandment; they may print or publish what they like, suppress what they list; whereof private men, be they never so wicked or good, have not so great commodity.

For examples we need not to go far out of our own country or memory. For, when Richard the Third, intending to usurp the Crown of England, slew divers of the nobility, first most cruelly, and afterwards murdered unnaturally his own innocent nephews, what solemn libels, proclamations, orations, were put forward to justify his abominable iniquity! When the last Duke of Northumberland, for the like ambitious purpose, would have disabled and defeated traitorously both the noble daughters of his own sovereign and master, and by the title of his daughter-in-law, possessed himself of the

Crown; what a number of pamphlets and edicts were published on the sudden, for colouring of that foul treachery and intolerable treason! When Orange and his confederates revolted not long since from their natural Prince, the Scottish heretics from their lawful Sovereign, and other provinces for the same cause, from the unity and common faith of the Church; who hath not seen the infinite libels for their excuse in wickedness? That, therefore, they may sometimes fail in private men's causes for covering their sin and shame, happeneth far oftener and much more dangerously in powerable and public persons. And so it maketh no more against us than this writer himself, whether he hath published his libel by authority (as he will not seem) or of his own peculiar head and affection, which rather we are content to suppose.

Howsoever it be, we will be bold to examine in the treatise following, with such modesty and indifferency as is requisite in God's cause, his whole reprehension; and in the meantime till he can prove us or our brethren guilty of any crime, other than the exercise and profession of the Catholic faith, we will say with our Saviour: *De bono opere lapidamur;*[1] and with the Apostle: *De spe et resurrectione mortuorum judicamur, et propter spem Israel his catenis circundati sumus.*[2]

[1] "We are stoned for a good work."

[2] "Concerning the hope and resurrection of the dead we are called in question, and because of the hope of Israel are we encompassed with these chains." (cf. Acts xxiii. 6.)

CHAPTER I.

That many Priests and other Catholics in England have been persecuted, condemned, and executed, for mere matter of religion: and for transgression only of new statutes which do make cases of conscience to be treason without all pretence or surmise of any old treasons or statutes for the same.

NOW to the principal points of the libel: we first affirm that the very front or title thereof (importing that no Catholics at all, or none of them whom they have executed, were persecuted for their religion), is a very notorious untruth, and contradictory to the libeller's own words in his discourse following where he confesses the under hand, *that some be corrected otherwise for religion:* or (if they will stand in the contrary) we appeal to the conscience and knowledge of all the Catholics and Protestants within the realm, who of their equity will never deny, that most prisons in England be full at this day, and have been for divers years, of honorable and honest persons not to be touched with any treason, or other offence in the world, other than their profession and faith in Christian religion.

Secondly we say and shall clearly convince, that, contrary to the pursuit of the same libel, a number have been also tormented, arraigned, condemned and executed, for mere matter of Religion, and upon the transgression of new statutes only, without any relation to the old treasons, so made and set down by Parliament in Edward the Third's

time: by which they untruly avouch all our brethren were convicted.

And herein to deal particularly and plainly, we allege the worthy Priest and Bachelor of Divinity, Mr. Cuthbert Mayne (who suffered a glorious martyrdom at Lanson in the province of Cornwall, for that the case or cover only of an Agnus Dei, and a printed copy of that Bull now expired which denounced to the Christian world the last Jubilee, were found about him), condemned not by any old laws (as is deceitfully pretended to abuse the simple of our own nation, and strangers that know not our lamentable condition), but by a late statute enacted the thirteenth year of the Queen's reign, which maketh it high treason to bring from Rome any beads, sacred pictures, Agnus Deis, Bulls or (as the express words of the statute are) *any writing or instrument written or printed, concerning anything, matter or cause whatsoever:* by which words they may condemn a man to death as guilty of high treason though he bring from Rome but letters testimonial for a traveller's credit and commendation in journey: a thing unheard of in all ages, not credible to foreigners, and a fable to posterity, or rather a warning to the world to come, into what misery and barbarousness a kingdom that forsaketh the Church may be brought unto. And an honourable gentleman of an ancient family, for only receiving the said blessed priest into his house, remaineth condemned to this day to perpetual prison and hath lost both lands and goods of great importance for that fact.

Likewise Thomas Sherwood, a layman indicted, adjudged and put to death, for questions of the Queen's supremacy in causes spiritual, and other articles made capital by the new laws only, two years at the least before this fiction of conspiracy against the realm or person of the Princes was made or heard of. The same year was a reverend priest named Mr. John Nelson, condemned and executed for affirming (being driven thereunto by the commissioners' captious interrogatories) the Queen's religion to be heretical and schismatical: which is made death not by the old laws of the realm, nor by any other of any Christian country, but only by a statute made in the said thirteenth year of the Queen's reign: providing by a special clause, *that none shall affirm her Majesty that now is* (for it holdeth not in other Princes' cases to come) *to be a heretic or schismatic, under pain of incurring high treason and death.*

After this, Mr. Everarde Hanse was indicted and so condemned to death, (which he constantly suffered), only upon a statute made in the last parliament of all, (by which it is made a crime capital *to persuade any man to the Catholic religion*), into the compass of which law they violently drew the blessed man by calumnious interpretation of his speeches, when he affirmed (being urged thereunto), that the Pope was his superior in causes spiritual, *and had in such matters spiritual as good right, as he ever had in England, or hath at this day in Rome:* for which words though enforced from him, he was there presently indicted, ar-

raigned and condemned to death, and soon after most cruelly executed. Whose case, together with that of Mr. Nelson which goeth before, declareth what truth is in this libeller who writeth here in one place, *That none are for their contrary opinions in religion persecuted or charged with any crimes or pains of treason, nor yet willingly searched in their consciences for their contrary opinions.* And again within a leaf after he repeateth the same untruth saying: *Without charging them in their consciences or otherwise by any inquisition, to bring them into danger of capital law, so as no one was called into any capital or bloody question upon matters of religion, but have all enjoyed their life as the course of nature would.*

Here may be named also Mr. William Lacy, a worshipful gentleman, who was condemned to death not long since at York, for that he confessed he had obtained a dispensation for Bigamy of the Pope's holiness to be made Priest, and that according to the same dispensation he was made Priest, either of which points by their late laws of religion are deadly: and the latter point they make treason forsooth by this strange sequel, that when men take Holy Orders they give their oath of obedience to the Pope, who is a foreign enemy to Her Majesty and the Realm as these men affirm: and could the world ween, we were in such thraldom of this barbarous heresy? With this man was Mr. Kirkman, a happy priest also martyred, for that he acknowledged himself to have reconciled certain persons to the Catholic Church. For which likewise were

put to death Mr. Thomson, Mr. Harte, and Mr. Threlkeld afterwards, in the same city of York, never charged nor suspected of any other treasons than of hearing confessions, absolving and reconciling sinners to the favour of God and to the unity of the Catholic Church again: which both in the priest that absolveth, and in the party that is absolved, they have made to be the crime of lése-Majeste under this false and most unjust pretence, that all parties so reconciled are assoiled of their obedience to the Queen and do adhere to her enemy, and admit foreign jurisdiction, power, and authority, which is exercised in Confession for remission of sins.

These be the treasons and none other for which the blood of God's priests is so abundantly shed in our poor country these years.

Add to these the two famous confessors, Mr. John Slade and Mr. John Body, who both by certain interrogatories being driven to say their minds touching the Queen's challenge of supreme regiment ecclesiastical, (contrary to the asseveration of this libeller set down before), for confessing their faith of the Pope's spiritual sovereignty, and for denying her to be head of the Church of England, or to have any spiritual regiment, were condemned to death in public judgment at two divers sessions, and that at twice, (a rare case in our country), the latter sentence being to reform the former (as we may guess in such strange proceedings), which they perceived to be erroneous and insufficient in their own laws. Whereupon one of them was executed

at Winchester, the other at Andover in the same province: being never charged with disloyalty or old treasons, as not only by the records of their arraignment and condemnation we are able to prove, but also by their own speeches, and by the whole action of their Martyrdom, which is put in print by one of their own Protestants that was present, and is witnessed by thousands of others, that both heard and saw their deaths and judgment. I will (for example's sake) allege something out of the said printed pamphlet of that which was said unto them by the enemy at their martyrdom. *Confess your fault* (said one of the chief gentlemen and ministers of execution present) *for satisfaction of the world, in the cause of your death.* To which the holy confessor John Body answered, after protestation of his loyalty in temporal things: *You shall understand* (quoth he) *good people, that I suffer death for denying her Majesty to be supreme head of Christ's Church in England in causes ecclesiastical: other treasons, except they make the holy Mass, or saying Ave Maria, treason, I have committed none.* So his happy companion Mr. Slade condemned for the same only cause, was thus spoken unto in the hour of his agony by one Doctor Bennet, a great minister of their new congregation: *Let not the Pope* (saith he) *that unworthy Priest, be preferred before thine own natural Princess, who is the lawful supreme head of the Church next under Christ.* So that this minister, by whom we may not only perceive upon what statute and treason they were executed, but also, (which in another part

of this libel is without shame most boldly denied), that indeed the Queen is commonly of protestants called: *Supreme head of the Church.* So their preachers in pulpit do sound out daily as all men know: and their writers in books dedicated to her, (as Mr. Bridges against Dr. Saunders and Dr. Stapleton, and others) do term her expressly. Whereof the wiser sort (as we may see by this libel) are so ashamed, that they would have it given out (to strangers specially, who wonder at the monstrous title), that there is no such thing challenged of her, or given her by the new laws of Religion in England.

For which cause, and for that they had an intention straight to publish at home and in foreign parts, that none were put to death for any such matter of faith or religion, they suppressed the said printed pamphlet of the two men's martyrdom, and punished the author thereof, though he wrote in that point the plain truth as he heard and saw, but not discreetly enough, nor agreeable to the political practice they had then in hand, which was to persuade the world, that none were put to death for their conscience, nor that the Queen challenged any such title of Supremacy or Headship over the Church, which latter point it seems convenient to the politics of our Realm to disavow with such vehemence in this libel, as they give us the manifest lie for that we reprove them for it, for thus they write: *Which title (of headship of the Church) the adversaries do most falsely write and affirm, that the Queen's Majesty doth now use, a manifest*

lie and untruth, etc. Wherefore of this matter I am enforced in this place to speak a word or two by the way.

The truth is, that in the first year and Parliament of the Queen's reign, when they abolished the Pope's authority, and would have yielded the same authority with the title of *Supreme Head* to the Queen, as it was given before to her father and brother: divers specially moved by Minister Calvin's writing, (who had condemned in the same Princes that calling), liked not the term, and therefore procured that some other equivalent but less offensive, might be used. Upon which formality, it was enacted that she was *the Chief Governor as well in causes ecclesiastical and spiritual, as civil and temporal:* And an oath of the same was conceived accordingly, to be tendered at their pleasures, to all the spiritual and temporal officers in the Realm, by which every one must swear that in conscience he taketh and believeth her so to be: and that no priest or other born out of the realm, can have or ought to have any manner of power in spiritual matters over her subjects. Which oath is counted the very torment of all English consciences, not the protestants themselves believing it to be true; and of all true Catholics, as before it was deemed in her father a layman, and in her brother a child, very ridiculous; so now in herself, being a woman, is it accounted a thing most monstrous and unnatural, and the very gap to bring any realm to the thraldom of all sects, heresy, paganism, Turcism, or Atheism, that the Prince for

the time by human frailty may be subject unto, all our religion, faith, worship, service, and prayers, depending upon his sovereign determination; a thing that all nations have to take heed of by our example, for the redress of which pernicious absurdity so many of our said brethren so willingly have shed their blood.

In the first Parliament of her Majesty's reign it was indeed in a manner thrust upon her against her will; because otherwise there could have been no colour to make new laws for change of Religion; and this title of Chief Governess was thought to be a qualification of the former term of Headship. But in truth it is all one with the other, or rather worse, for in some kind of improper speech the King may be called the Head or Chief of the country, for that he is sovereign Lord and ruler of both persons spiritual and temporal, all sorts bound to obey his lawful civil laws and commandments, and so in that sense is he Head of the clergy and of all others.

But when in the new form of our statute it is expressly and distinctly added, that she is the only Supreme Governor even in all causes, *as well spiritual and ecclesiastical as temporal and civil;* and furthermore enacted that all jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities and pre-eminences ecclesiastical, as by any power spiritual have been or may be exercised, are taken from the Pope, (to whom Christ gave them in most ample manner,) and are united, or rather (as they say) restored by an old decree to the crown of England; this can have no ex-

cuse, neither true or likely sense in the world, making indeed a king and a priest all one, no difference betwixt the state of the Church and a temporal commonwealth; giving no less right to heathen princes to be governors of the Church in causes spiritual, than to a Christian king; it maketh one part of the Church in different territories to be independent and several from another, according to the distinction of realms and kingdoms in the world. And finally it maketh every man that is not born in the kingdom to be a foreigner also in respect of the Church; this and a thousand absurdities and impossibilities more do ensue, which for brevity we omit; only this which is in most men's memories we may not pass over, that the very same year that this new pre-eminence was given by law to the Queen, and the oath accordingly ministered to many, some having remorse of the matter, for to avoid danger, pretended for their refusal, that it seemed to them by the words of the oath and act, that the Queen might minister also the Sacraments, whereunto they would not swear by any means.

Whereupon in her next visitation of the clergy, a special injunction was printed and published by her commandment declaring that in truth she had no such intent, and that no such thing was implied in her title or claim of spiritual regiment, nor no other thing, nor more than was before granted to her father by the term of Supreme Head; requiring all her loving subjects to receive the oath at least in that sense, and so it should suffice her High-

ness. By which it is now clear, by their own authentical declaration that we speak no untruth (as this libeller saith), nor abuse not the world when we say she is called and taken for the Supreme Head of the Church of England; albeit (the thing itself being far more absurd, and of more pernicious sequel, than the makers of the law, who were mere laymen, and most of them unlearned, could then perceive), their followers now would disavow the same. For this article, therefore, as the famous Bishop of Rochester, Sir Thomas More, and a great number more in King Henry the Eighth his days, so did these two last named martyrs, and divers others before them, most gladly and constantly yield up their lives, and so consequently died for mere matter of religion only.

And to end this point, we lastly refer the adversary to the late martyrdom of Carter a poor innocent artisan, who was made away only for printing a Catholic book *De Schismate*, in which no word was found against the state, the quarrel only most unjustly being made, upon a certain clause, which by no likely honest construction could appertain to the Queen's person, viz: that the Catholic religion should once have the upper hand of heresy, and *Judith* cut off the head of *Holofernes;* which they in their extreme jealousy and fear of all things would needs wrest against her Majesty.

And the place serveth here to say somewhat of the cause also of their racking of Catholics, which they would have strangers believe never to be done for any point of religion. As for example, (say

they in the addition to the end of the libel), none is asked by torture, *what he believeth of the Mass or Transubstantiation or such like.* As though (forsooth) there were no question pertaining to faith and religion, but touching our inward belief. Whereas indeed it concerneth religion no less to demand and press us by torture, where, in whose houses, what days and times we say or hear Mass, how many we have reconciled, what we have heard in confession; who resorteth to our preachings, who harboureth Catholics and priests; who sustaineth, aideth, or comforteth them; who they be that have their children or pupils in the Society or Seminaries beyond the seas; where such a Jesuit or such a priest is to be found; where Catholic books are printed, and by whom, and to whom they be uttered in England? Which things being demanded of evil intent and to the annoyance of the Catholic cause, God's priests, and innocent men; no man may by the law of God and nature disclose, though he be expressly commanded by any prince in the world, for that God must be obeyed more than man.

Yet these were the interrogatories for which the famous confessor Mr. Briant was tormented with needles thrust under his nails, racked also otherwise in cruel sort, and specially punished by two whole days and nights famine, which they attribute to obstinacy, but indeed (sustained in Christ's quarrel) it was most honorable constancy. The like demands were put to the blessed martyrs Campion, Sherwin, and others upon the torture and of this latter namely was asked where Frs. Persons and

Campion were, and whether he had said Mass in Mr. Roscarocke's chamber, and what money he had given him. Mr. Thomson, a venerable and learned priest was put to torments only to get out of him to what end he kept certain superaltaries, and where he intended to bestow them. The said young man Carter, of whose martyrdom we last treated, was examined upon the rack, upon what gentlemen or Catholic ladies he had bestowed or intended to bestow certain books of prayers and spiritual exercises and meditations which he had in his custody. Which may suffice to refute the adversaries' asseveration: *that none have been tormented for other matter than treason.*

But the words of Mr. Thomas Cottam uttered in fence at the bar, and thus verbatim left in writing, discovereth the case more plainly to the shame of this cruel heresy for advancement whereof so shameful things be committed. Thus therefore he spake and avouched openly in the presence of the rack-masters. "Indeed" (quoth he) "you are searchers of secrets, for you would needs know of me what penance I was enjoined by my ghostly father for my sins committed; and I acknowledge my frailty that to avoid the intolerable torment of the rack I confessed (God forgive me) what they demanded therein: but when they further urged me to utter also what my sins were for which that penance was enjoined me, (a loathsome and unchristian question) I then answered that I would not disclose my offences saving to God and to my ghostly father alone. Whereupon they sore tor-

mented me, and still pressed me with the same demand, and I persisted that it was a most barbarous inhuman question, and that I would not answer though they tormented me to death." Thus spake Mr. Cottam at his arraignment, wherewith the enemies being ashamed, the Lieutenant of the Tower there present began to deny the whole, whereupon Mr. Cottam replied again thus: "And is not this true? Here is present Dr. Hammon with the rest of the Commissioners that were at my racking, to whose consciences I appeal. God is my witness that it is most true, and you know that Sir George Cary did ask me these unnatural questions, deny it if you can? In truth all your tortures and demands every one were of no other treasons, but matter of mere conscience, faith, and religion, or else of such follies as I have rehearsed."

As for the moderation, great pity, and courtesy, which by your libel you would have the world believe her Majesty's ministers have ever used, in giving the torments to the persons aforesaid, and other Catholics, the poor innocents have felt it, and our Lord God knoweth the contrary. And we can put you in remembrance, that you did it with extreme rigour and despite, commonly upon no due presumption nor reasonable suspicion of discovery of any important matter thereby. Look in your records what suspicion of treasons or great matters you could have in young Sherwood, who was the first in our memory that was put to the rack for matters of conscience, then when no man dreamed of any these feigned new conspiracies?

See whether a portable altar be a sufficient cause to give the torture to a grave, worshipful person, not so much as suspected of treason, or any disobedience, other than in cases of conscience? Whether books of prayers and meditations spiritual, or the printing and spreading of them, be a rack-matter in any commonwealth Christian? Look whether your ordinary demands were of that weight and quality, as were to be answered by constraint of the rack? Let the world see what one confession of treasonable matter you have wrested out by the so often tormenting of so many, and what great secrecies touching the state (which you pretend so earnestly to seek for) you have found amongst them all? No, no, nothing was there in those religious hearts but innocence and true religion; it is that which you punished, tormented, and deadly hated in them. If they would have in the least point in the world condescended to your desires in that, or but once, for your pleasures, presented themselves at your schismatical prayers, all racking and treasons had been cleared and past.

Whereby all the world seeth, you did all for religion, not as for any conscience that way (wherewith most of you are not much troubled), but because the particular state of a number dependeth on this new religion. Remember whether you laid not Mr. Thomson on the rack, against all good use and order, before you ever examined him? What presumptions had you so pregnant that you must rack the famous man Father Campion about the Irish commotion, or collection of money for the

maintenance of the same? Or of any knowledge he had of killing the "Greatest," as you mystically speak in your book? Have you not ordinarily threatened men with the racks and dungeons, and sometimes brought them to the rack-house door, yea, and laid some on the rack, without either cause or intent to touch them, but only by those terrors to drive them to deny their faith, or to confess where they had said Mass, or other like things which you desired to know?

How often have you by famine and filthy dungeons tormented the happy young confessor Mr. John Hart, which could not now be after his condemnation for anything else but for his religion, and because he would not yield to one Reynolds, a minister, with whom you appointed him to confer? For what other cause did you threaten the torture to Mr. Osborne, but to make him confess that he had said Mass before the true noble confessors of Christ, My Lord Vaux and Sir Thomas Tresham? And which is more intolerable, is not your rack used or threatened to force men by the fear thereof to speak things against truth by your appointment, and specially for false accusation of innocent gentlemen? John Nichols, himself a Protestant, and one of your own instruments, hath acknowledged so much in public writing, affirming that Sir Owen Hopton, lieutenant of the Tower, enforced him to accuse divers gentlemen by name of high treason, whom he never knew; which he did, to avoid his threatened torments, as he writeth.

We speak nothing of the pitiful extremities you

have brought divers unto by horrible fetters, stocks, dungeons, famine; or of the death of well near twenty happy Catholics at once, infected and pestered in York prison, where they perished by the unmercifulness of the Protestants, of whom by no pitiful complaints they could obtain liberty or fresh air, for the saving of their lives, without condescending to go to their abominable service. We tell you not here, again, that for the more affliction of Catholics (a thing to be marked and lamented of all Christian hearts), that you have profanely made choice of Sundays and great Holidays to practise your torments upon them, after the old fashion of the pagans, rather than upon workdays: that you bring other Catholic prisoners near to the place of torment, to hear their brethren's sorrowful cries; and eftsoons lead some, newly taken from the rack, under their fellow-prisoners' windows and to their doors, that by hearing their pitiful complaints, sighs and groans, proceeding of infinite pains, they may relent in religion.

Of all which inhuman dealing, we will not impeach the superior magistrate, much less the Sovereign, but surely the inferior ministers of that pretended justice cannot be excused of most cruel and sacrilegious dealing towards God's priests and other innocent persons. And as for the particular handling of Father Campion and Mr. Briant (whom the libellers made examples of their mild and gentle entertainment upon the torture), we refer all indifferent readers to the said Briant's own Latin epistle of that matter. And for the other, they say

true indeed that after his first racking, and at the time of the Protestants' disputes with him in the Tower, he was not so bereaved of his hands but he might with pain write or subscribe his name; but afterwards, upon his second or third racking, he was so benumbed that he could neither take the cup and lift it to his mouth, nor draw off his cuff at the bar; nor straight after his last torment, nor many days following, had he any feeling or use of his limbs, as he confessed to his keeper asking him how he felt his hands. "Not evil" (quoth he) "for I feel them not at all."

The like we could prove of Mr. Paine the priest's tormenting, and divers others; but this is enough to control these shameless untruths of the libeller, and to make demonstration of the pitiful violences, slanders, and tribulations, which our brethren have constantly borne, and yet do bear, for profession of their faith, which to some rebuke of our nation we would never so particularly utter here and elsewhere, if our blameless defence drove us not thereunto. And specially for that we would christianly give warning to all princes and provinces that yet happily enjoy the Catholic religion, and the only true liberty of conscience in the same, to take heed by our miseries, how they let this pernicious sect put foot into their states, which by promise of liberty and sweetness at the beginning, entereth deceitfully, but when she is once in, and getteth the mastery, (as she often doth where she is not in season constantly resisted), she bringeth all to most cruel and barbarous thraldom, procuring her

followers to hate and persecute the Church, their own only true and old Mother, far more deadly than the heathens themselves do, and turneth all the laws made by godly Popes and princes for punishment of heretics and malefactors, to the spoil and destruction of innocent men and Catholics, for whose defence they were made.

Into which misery our country, to us most dear, being fallen and having no other human helps to recover it and our Prince and peers (excepting this case of heresy, of excellent good nature and clemency) with millions of souls that there do perish; we will not fear nor fail to pray and ask it of God with tears and blood, as we have begone: *Donec misereatur nostri:* till he be merciful both to us and to our persecutors.

Our days of affliction cannot be long, their felicity will have an end, both sides shall shortly have their doom, where the dealings of us all shall be truly discussed, and the just shall stand with great constancy against them that vexed them. Interim in the testimony of a guiltless conscience in all things whereof we be accused by our adversaries, and in joyful expectation of that day, we will continue still this work of God to our own and our country's salvation: *Per infamiam et bonam famam*,[1] as the Apostle willeth us; and through other miseries whatsoever man's mortality is subject unto.

[1] "Through ill repute and good repute."

CHAPTER II.

That Father Campion and the rest of the priests and Catholics indicted, condemned, and executed, upon pretence of treason, and upon statutes made of old against treasons, were never yet guilty of any such crimes, but unjustly made away.

HITHERTO we have made it clear that divers (contrary to the drift of this libel) have been condemned and put to death, either without all law, or else only upon new laws by which matter of religion is made treason. Now it followeth, and is next to be considered, whether such other as were accused and appeached of old treasons upon a statute made in the days of Edward the Third, in the 25th year of his reign, were indeed guilty of any such crimes.

The intent of that law is to register divers cases that were to be deemed treason, in which the first and chief is: to conspire or compass the death of the Sovereign, or to levy men of arms against him, and thereof can be by open fact convinced. Upon which special clause Father Campion (good man) and his fellow priests and Catholic brethren were, to the wonder of the world, arraigned. Namely indicted that at Rome and Rheims the last days of March and May in the 22nd year of her Majesty's reign, they compassed the Queen's death, the subversion of the state, and invasion of the realm; feigning (for better colouring of the collusion) the foresaid places, days, and times when this conspiracy should be contrived.

Which forgery and false accusation is now so clearly discovered to all Englishmen, of any consideration, Protestants and others, that for excuse of that foul sinful practice, they have set out at length to strangers, as they did with like luck before at home, this late libel; by which God Almighty, the Protector of His Saints and our innocency, hath marvellously confounded themselves, and justified the cause and conscience of His holy Martyrs, as by the declaration following shall appear.

When the politics of our country, pretending to be Protestants, saw the Catholic religion, contrary to their worldly wise counsels and determinations, and against their exquisite diligence and discipline and twenty years endeavour (in which time they thought verily to have extinguished the memory of our father's faith), to be reunited in the hearts of the greatest number, noblest and honestest sort of the Realm; and that neither their strange, violent and capital laws for the Queen's spiritual superiority against the Pope's pre-eminence, the power of priesthood in absolving penitents, the saying and hearing of Mass, having or wearing of Agnus-deis or other external signs of our society with the Catholic Church of all times and nations; nor the execution of many by death, and other penalties and punishment, according to the said laws, would serve, nor were of force to hold out of England the priests of the Society and Seminaries, to whom Christ had given more apostolic spirit, courage, zeal and success, than of so small a beginning was

looked for: by whom the Protestants began to fear lest great alteration in religion, whereon they think their new state (that is to say) the weal of a very few in comparison, dependeth, might ensue: they thought good by their long exercised wisdom, to alter the whole accusation from question of faith and conscience, to matter of treason. Which being resolved upon, they went about by divers proclamations, libels, and speeches, first to make the people believe that all Catholics, and especially Jesuits and such priests and scholars as were brought up in the Seminaries or Colleges out of the Realm, were traitors. And for their better persuasion gave out one while there was a marvellous confederation of the Pope, King of Spain, Duke of Florence and others, for the invasion of the Realm. But that being shortly proved nothing, they feigned that the said Jesuits and priests were confederated with the Irish quarrel, and to give more colour of somewhat, they sticked not to rack Father Campion extremely for search of that point.

But this fiction failing, they found out another as foul: that the death of the Queen and divers of the Council was contrived (forsooth) in the Seminaries of Rome and Rheims, of which conspiracy in fine they resolved to indict them, as they did, and pursued them to death for the same, with such evident partiality, default of justice and equity, as was in that court (once most honourable for justice) never heard or read of before.

Such as pleaded against them to make them odious in judgment discoursed (as this libel now

doth) first of the nature and horror of rebellion in general, and then of a rebellion in the North for religion a dozen years before, when the parties there accused were young boys in the schools and universities of the realm: of the Pope's Bull of excommunicating the Queen a good many years before any of them came over sea, or ever saw Pope, Rome, or Rheims; yea, when some of them were yet Protestants in England: they discoursed also of the rebellion in Ireland by Stukeley, Saunders and others, none of which men, divers there arraigned, ever saw or knew in their lives. Of their being made priests by the Pope's authority, and of their obligation and obedience to him being the Queen's enemy: of their authority to absolve and reconcile in England, received from him: of their coming in at the same time, when they were in arms in Ireland, as though they had not entered their native country and exercised those spiritual functions seven years before, or could not then exercise them but in favour of such as took arms against the Queen.

And when these generalities were uttered only to make them odious, and amaze the hearers with those that should have to judge of their guiltiness or innocency, the good fathers and priests made just exceptions against such vulgar invectives as could not touch them that there stood in judgment, more than any other priest or Catholic in the realm; and many of the points such as they were sure none should have been arraigned for in King Edward the Third's time, upon whose statute never-

theless the indictment was pretended to be drawn: humbly praying the Judge and Bench that they would more directly, plainly, and sincerely pass on them for their faith and exercises of the Roman religion (for proof whereof they should not need to seek for so impertinent and far-fetched matter), which they openly professed and desired to die for, with all their hearts: or if they would needs proceed against them as for treason, in the sense of the old laws of our country; that then it would please them to aggravate no farther to their disadvantage and death either other men's faults or matter of pure religion, but to come to the indictment, and to the particular charge of every person there arraigned, which was of conspiring the Queen's death. Whereof if they could by any proof or sufficient testimony of credible persons convict all or any of them, than their death to be deserved: if not, their innocent blood upon all that should be accessory to the shedding thereof, a crime that crieth for vengeance at God's hand when it is done but by private malice and mischief, but committed in public place of judgment by authority and pretence of law (as in the case of Naboth and of Christ our Master) it is in the sight of God most horrible, and never long escapeth public punishment: from which our Lord God of His mercy save our poor country even by the prayers of these holy martyrs, for whose blood it is otherwise highly deserved.

Therefore all other idle and vagrant speeches, odiously amplifying either the Pope's, Jesuits',

Seminaries', Doctor Saunders' or any other man's peculiar actions for religion or otherwise, set apart (whereupon as the Counsellers then at the bar, so now the writers of this libel voluntarily and vainly do only stand and make their rest), there is nothing in the world that can prove effectually these men's lawful condemnation, nor avow the justice of that execution (which the libeller taketh upon him to do, but in truth no whit toucheth the matter), having only such allegation and testimony as may convince Father Campion and his fellows with him arraigned, to have compassed the Queen's destruction, or invasion of the Realm.

What other things soever they were guilty of; or what affection soever they bear, in respect of their contrary religion, to their Prince and State; or what treasonable opinions (as they fondly call them) concerning the excommunication or depriving the Queen, were afterwards discovered in them; or what other reasonable cause in respect of the adversaries' fear and jealousy over the state, or doubt of the times then troubled, the officers then, or the libellers now, to satisfy the people or the world abroad, do allege for their accuse; none of all those things can justify that execution, so long as the matter for which they were only indicted cannot be proved, nor the statute of King Edward the Third, upon which they pretend to have indicted them, is transgressed by them.

Therefore as the whole treatise of our adversaries' defence is too wide from the purpose: so specially are the four reasons, which for the reader's

ease (as they term it) and for the pith and sum of the whole discourse, they have put at the end of their libel in a rank together: by which the discreet reader may take a taste of their deceitful dealing in the whole book.

Every reason should conclude that the priests were executed upon no charge of new religious treasons, but upon old statutes only for matter of conspiracy, in which sense no one of them in truth doth conclude.

And the first reason cometh only to this end: that her Majesty, contemning the Pope's bulls for a good while, at length spying them to be dangerous, revived former laws for prohibition of them within her dominions. Which argument being laid for the ground of all, hath neither the conclusion looked for against those priests in particular, nor truth of narration in the premises. For neither were there any such bulls and excommunications which (they say) were tolerated or contemned for certain years; none at all (I say) of that kind published in her days before that one of Pius V. mentioned in the next argument following: neither were there extant any old statutes (that we know) to be revived, against such excommunications in any such sense as they will seem to make them.

The second argument proveth only that Felton for publishing Pius V. his Bull, was by their laws condemned and put to death, and was the first that was executed for matters coming from Rome: whereupon how substantially it is inferred that Father Campion and his fellows were not con-

demned for religion, but for transgression of old statutes of treasons, let the wise consider: and withal, let the learned in our laws determine whether the bringing in of a bull of excommunication from Rome were treason in the days and by the statute of King Edward the Third.

Thirdly, they reason thus: the people raised rebellion in the North; *ergo* her Majesty cannot be blamed for using force against them, and punishing the authors of the same: which maketh little against the persons here named.

Fourthly, that the Pope stirred to rebellion and succoured the Irish; therefore she hath great reason to search out all seditious persons, as priests and Jesuits be; and so to try, condemn, and execute them. Neither of which reasons have any further sequel in the sight of any reasonable and indifferent man, than to punish them that are by lawful trial proved to be partakers of these actions; which was impossible to do in any of the priests' cases arraigned: neither was any of the said commotions laid in particular to any one of them all at the bar, though impertinently such matters were for a deceitful flourish often (as in this libel) touched.

And whereas by prevention of some objections either made or that may be made, that these poor religious priests, scholars, and unarmed men could not be any doers in the wars of England or Ireland; the libel maketh a solemn rhetorical tale, for answer: that though they were not in the field to fight, yet they might by their counsel, encour-

agement, and persuasion, be partakers of the same crime, and executed as accessory to the other treasons: which needed not so many superfluous words in so short a work; all the world confessing that the ministers, messengers, espials, and abettors of offenders, are often no less punishable than the principal actors. But in sincere dealing it had been to be proved that Father Campion and those other holy men were secret workers and aiders of the Northern and Irish commotion, whereof neither now in this book, nor then at the bar, any one word is alleged.

All is full of wild and waste words artificially couched to abuse the ignorant, that knew not the state of this disputation: all running to this old issue, that her Majesty hath reason to punish traitors; but no word to convince them of these or any other old treasons for which they were indicted, nor to reprove us that boldly upon evident demonstration, yea and certain knowledge, do testify before God and man, that they were not guilty of those offences of which they were indicted, and for which they were by unlawful calumniation and violence cast away, as in the face of the world; but in the sight of our Lord attained a precious death, and the glory of the saints everlastingly.

When it came to the very point of the accusation, and all roving and railing talk against Pope, Rome, religion, seminaries, bulls, Masses, preachings, reconciliations, Agnus deis and beads (with which they larded all their evidence, though of such things they professed not to condemn them), was to be

set aside, and now by witness to be proved that they were guilty of the foresaid conspiracy against the Queen's person, &c., two or three such fellows were sought out and procured to give testimony against them, as first professed themselves to be heretics, and therefore by St. Augustine's judgment, were not to be heard against a Catholic priest. Secondly (seeing heresy maketh no exception in England) they were known to be otherwise common cousiners, lost companions, saleable for a souz, and bought by the enemy to betray them and bear witness against them. Thirdly, some of them charged in the face of the court with shameful adultery; with double or triple murder; and other like horrible crimes pardoned for this purpose. Fourthly, they were discovered both then and afterwards of notorious falsehood, incongruity, and discord of times, persons, places, and other circumstances; and their iniquity eftsoons disclosed by their own fellow.

And to see now the men of God, so many, so excellent for virtue, so famous for learning, religion, zeal, and devotion, to hold their lives upon the conscience of such notorious atheists and outcasts of the world; yea (as in Mr. Paine's case) upon the bare word of one of them only, against divine and human laws (requiring two witnesses at the least): it was surely very pitiful to behold, but not marvellous to us that considered the condition of our time, and easily foresaw that these holy men's deaths were now designed and thought necessary for our politics, for conservation of their

state, as the libeller here subtilly insinuateth, that it was to be done in regard to the dangerous time when the Pope's forces were in Ireland, and more in preparation to follow as well into England (as he cunningly feigneth to make the necessity of this justice more excusable) as also into Ireland: as though he would say: that by some one pretence or other, for terror and example, they were to be found guilty and so dispatched.

Well, thus their good witnesses gave in evidence of things spoken and contrived in Rome and Rheims which were known to be most false of all that were in either place the times and days by them named: and whatsoever was either truly or falsely testified to be done or said in either of the two places by any English there dwelling, it was unjustly applied to all and every one of these good men now standing in judgment; yea it served against some that were never in either place in their life, as against Mr. Ford and Mr. Collington; as also against Father Campion that dwelt a thousand miles off in Prague; occupied by his superiors in teaching and preaching, wholly estranged from all Englishmen and English affairs, otherwise than in his prayers, for above nine years together; not ever seen or known to divers that then were arraigned with him in judgment, as conspirators in one and the same treason, before they met there together at the bar, nor ever known to the witnesses themselves. The same served against Mr. Shert that had not been in either place of many years afore. Against Mr. Briant also and Mr.

Richardson that never had been in Rome, nor in Rheims of eight months before the time wherein the false witnesses feigned the conspiracy to have been there contrived. Yea and against Father Bosgrave it served also, that was neither seminary man, nor sent by the Pope or Superior, nor acquainted with any other English priests that returned home, nor of the cause of their coming, having been so long absent in the North parts of the world, that he had in a manner forgotten his own language, repairing home himself for his health only: and yet all or the most part of these men, being so different amongst themselves in age, life, state, calling, place of abode, time of absence from their country, and in the cause, manner, and purpose of returning, were condemned together at one bar, for one and the self-same particular treason, for conspiring (forsooth) her Majesty's death at Rome and Rheims, such and such days, which in itself hath most manifest contradiction.

But yet when these things were, for the impossibility of the fact, laid down and opened at the bar by the holy confessors themselves, it prevailed nothing, though otherwise also the evidence were given by such persons and of such matters, as it was neither possible nor credible that they could be guilty. It was found sufficient for their condemnation that they had kissed the Pope's foot; that they were his scholars and had received "Viaticum" from him; that they had seen or spoken with Cardinals in Rome; and were made priests either there or at other places; and finally,

sent home by authority of their Superiors accounted enemies in the present state of our country. Which things, together with the partial, unwonted, and unlawful dealing used in the proceeding of that day of their judgment, and the known innocent quality and trade of the persons, cleareth them against this libel, and all other false accusation whatsoever.

But most of all everyone's sincere protestation, in the hour of their honourable conflict and martyrdom, that they were ignorant of all conspiracies, and most innocent of that for which they were condemned in particular, cleareth them thoroughly in the judgment and conscience of every reasonable man, seeing it is not probable that such men would against their consciences and against the truth have avouched a falsehood at that instant, to the present and everlasting perdition of their souls, which would not relent in any point of their faith to save only their temporal lives.

And this is also an invincible proof of their innocency, and that all was for religion, and nothing in truth for treason, that if they would have confessed the Queen to be their Chief in causes spiritual, or relented in their religion, they should have had life and pardon, which was preferred to every one of them, not only at the execution, but often before. Yea, for once going to their heretical service, any of those whom they pretend to be so deep traitors, might have been quit with favour, as also with great thanks and goodly preferments.

And plain it is, that now at the hour of their death, being past further fear of man's laws, if

they had meant anything against the Queen's person, or had received order by their Superiors, or had thought it agreeable to their spiritual profession, to deal in other matters than religion and conversion of souls by preaching, persuasion, prayers, and other priestly means, they might have spoken their minds boldly now at their passage and departure from this world; as since that time we understand that a certain worshipful lay gentleman did, who protested both at his arraignment and at his death, that her Majesty was not his lawful Queen for two respects: the one for her birth, the other for the excommunication, her Highness having neither sought dispensation for the first, nor absolution for the second. But none of all our priests made any such answer, nor otherwise uttered any unlawful speech that might either offend her Majesty, or the State present, irritate enemy, or scandalize friend.

All their confessions both voluntary and forced by torments, are extant in the persecutors' hands. Is there any word soundeth or smelleth of conspiracy?

They have all sorts and sexes of Catholics in prison for their faith, and divers honourable personages only upon pretence of dealing and conversing with them. Hath any one of all the realm, in durance or at liberty, by fair means or foul, confessed that ever either priest or Jesuit persuaded them in Confession or otherwise, to forsake the Queen? That ever they were absolved on that condition? That ever they received Agnus-deis at

their hands, or other spiritual token for earnest, or pressed to rebel or join with the enemy? As this slanderous libel doth not so much avouch (for that were intolerable) as by guileful art insinuate, without all proof or probability.

Wherein, as at the place of their judgment, the magistrate professing that nothing should be prejudicial unto them that touched only their religion (yet indeed had no other matter for their conviction but the functions of their order and priesthood), so this libeller now, pretending their treasons to be old and of another sort, and acquitting them for their Romish tokens, ceremonies, books, beads, and opinions (as he speaketh), yet cunningly windeth himself about in words, and only condemneth them in the end for the same, not as capital (forsooth) in themselves, but as serviceable to the Pope, and appliable to the benefit of rebels at home or abroad. So cunningly they play in such man's lives and deaths as our country was unworthy of.

But now when these innocent persons were condemned, and so many of them as they thought was necessary for their practice executed, they perceived great scruples and suspicious conceits to rife in all men's hearts and heads about the fact and unwonted proceeding, no man either so evil or ignorant as to take them guilty of those crimes whereof they were appeached, and every man not so wise as to spy that it was done of necessary policy without much regard of conscience or divinity. They knew also that one John Nichols, a Min-

ister and Protestant (who gave the first false overture of this sinful stratagem), touched by God, absented himself at their condemnation and death, and afterwards cried the innocent men mercy on his knees, confessing both by word and letter authentically recorded, that partly upon his motion they had condemned innocent blood, and that himself was forced by certain persons in authority (whom for honour sake we will not name though he named them) to commence such a foul tragedy. Considering therefore all these things, and desiring to cover the foulness of the fact as much as might be, as well in respect of their own people manifoldly discontented, and specially impatient of such injurious proceedings, as also of strangers, to whom the rare virtues of Father Campion and of some of the others were known: (besides other violent means by severe punishments and proclamations to stay the hard speeches and conceits of the people therein), they caused some of them that yet were not executed, to be examined upon certain Articles, six in all, clean of another purport than their former accusation of killing the " Greatest " (as our libel speaketh) all which articles do concern only the authority and fact of Pius V. of famous memory, in censuring the Queen by excommunication and deprivation for heresy; and what they thought, or how far they allowed of the same.

Whereunto, because they did conjecture their answers would be odious in the sight of the simple, and specially of zealous Protestants (as it fell out indeed) they devised to publish and read them to

the people at the martyrdom of the rest, that thereby they might at least conceive that they were worthy of death for other causes, though not for that whereof they were condemned, and so either less pity them, or less mark the former unjust pretenced matter of their condemnation.

And this cunning course they have followed ever since in defence of that pretended justice, and is the whole conveyance of this libeller now: who, to defend the execution of their cruelty towards these Saints of God, bestoweth his labour only to prove, that they have been tried by the six Articles concerning the Excommunication, and that there was found a note after Father Campion's death touching the same Bull, procured for the interpretation and force thereof, and brought from Rome by Father Persons' and the said Father Campion's suite that Mr. Hart confessed the Bull in such and such sort to bind, and otherwise not to stand in force: whereby only he goeth about to persuade the world and specially strangers unacquainted in our affairs, the said men to have been traitors, and justly punished, as though new crimes either found out or done after the sentence of their death passed, yet after the execution of the same, could justify their condemnation passed before.

But the world looked for some justification of that former judgment and verdict of court, which was passed with such great solemnity against those innocent men before, upon transgression (as was pretended) of an old statute, for compassing the Queen's death. For as for all other declamations

and invectives, be they true or be they false, they cannot excuse the fact from plain murder, nor condemn them after they be dead for other crimes than they were convicted of in their lives. Which the libeller himself confesseth in these express words, after his idle work and words: "Upon refusal to answer to these questions directly" (saith he) "as they might have been justly convicted of treason, so yet where they not thereupon condemned": (Which yet is false, for they have lately executed divers priests as Mr. Haddock, Mr. Hemmerford and others most cruelly only about the matter of excommunication of the Queen!) "But upon their other former actions both abroad and in the realm." But what those actions were, and how they were proved to be committed particularly by those, whom we avouch to be unjustly condemned upon old treasons, and to be only killed for their religion; that should have been your whole endeavour (Sir) to shew, all other superfluous railing or recital of pretended offences (for which yourself confess they were not condemned), being out of force to maintain the defence of your pretended justice, nor yet to stay the Christian world and Church of God from accounting them martyrs whom you have murdered.

Against whose holy ashes and memories you can struggle no more than the old heathen and heretical persecutors did, to defame those glorious men of the primitive Church whom they executed in pretence of like treasonable trespasses, who yet (notwithstanding their enemies' manifold endeavours to stay the honours due to them after their deaths) by

Christ and His Church's judgment have gotten the victory over their adversaries, and so remain as glorious in heaven and earth, as their persecutors be infamous through all the world.

What worldly honour the two King Henrys of England had (I mean the second and eighth), which in the days of their reign, no doubt, was great: or what esteem soever the Princess present and her greatest ministers have now, by the height of their room and fortune in this life; it is but a very dream, shadow, or phantasy, to the glory of Thomas of Canterbury, John of Rochester, Chancellor More, Father Campion, and the rest; whom fame and felicity followeth upon their deaths, and upon such contradiction of sinners seeking to disgrace them. As also in the contrary part, the persecutors' glory dieth with their authority, if not before; and they are commonly better known to posterity by executing of such men (though to their shame), than by other their facts in their life whatsoever. And so doth God protect His saints; *A contradictione linguarum*, from the gainsaying of tongues, and giveth the victory of the world by the fortitude of their faith in Him.

But of the six Articles concerning the Bull of Excommunication, more shall be said in the next chapter and other places following; that their innocency therein also may appear, and the slanderous libeller be repressed every way.

CHAPTER III.

That we now have great cause to complain of unjust persecution, intolerable severity and cruelty towards Catholics in England; and their Protestants no reason to do the like for the justice done to them in Queen Mary's and other Princes' days, and the cause of the difference.

THE libeller, by sophistical reasons and popular persuasion, going about to make men think the English persecution to be nothing so violent as is divulged, nor anything comparable to the justice exercised towards the Protestants in the reign of the late Queen Mary, telleth of hundreds of our scores, as also of the qualities of them that then suffered, of their innocency in all matters of State, and treason, and such like.

To which we say briefly, clearly, and to the purpose: that we measure not the matter by the number, nor by the severity of the punishment only or specially, but by the cause, by the order of justice in proceeding, by the laws of God and all Christian nations, and such other circumstances; whereby we can prove Queen Mary's doings to be commendable and most lawful, the other, towards us and our brethren, to be unjust and impious.

The difference is in these points: You profess to put none to death for religion: you have no laws to put any man to death for his faith; you have purposely repealed by a special statute made in the first year and parliament of this Queen's reign, all

former laws of the realm for burning heretics, which smelleth of something that I need not here express: you have provided at the same time that nothing shall be deemed or adjudged heresy, but by your parliament and Convocation: you have not yet set down by any new law what is heresy, or who is a heretic. Therefore you can neither adjudge of our doctrine as of heresy, nor of us as of heretics; nor have you any law left whereby to execute us: and so, to put any of us to death for religion, is against justice, law, and your own profession and doctrine.

But nevertheless you do torment and punish us, both otherwise intolerably, and also by death most cruel; and that (as we have proved) for Agnus-deis, for ministering the holy Sacraments, for our obedience to the See Apostolic, for persuading our friends to the Catholic faith, for our priesthood, for studying in the Society or colleges beyond the seas, and such like, which you have ridiculously made treason; but afterwards (being ashamed of the foul absurdity) acknowledge them to be matters of religion and such as none shall die for. And therefore we most justly make our complaint to God and man, that you do us plain violence, and persecute us without all equity and order.

On the other side, Queen Mary against the Protestants executed only the old laws of our country, and of all Christendom made for punishment of heretics, by the canons and determination of all Popes, Councils, Churches and ecclesiastical tribunals of the world, allowed also and authorized

by the civil and imperial laws, and received by all kingdoms Christian besides; and who then hath any cause justly to be grieved? Why should any man complain or think strange for executing the laws which are as ancient, as general, and as godly against heretics, as they are for the punishment of traitors, murderers, or thieves?

Secondly, we complain justly of persecution; for that our cause for which we suffer, is the faith of all our forefathers; the faith of our persecutors' own ancestors; the faith into which our country was converted, and by which we are called Christian; the faith of the Catholic Churches and Kingdoms round about us; the faith that we promised in our regeneration; and therefore cannot be forced from it, nor punished for it, by any law of God, nature, or nations.

Where contrariwise those that in our time or otherwise have fallen from that faith, which not only their elders religiously received, but themselves also for most part were many years brought up in; or if not, yet had they promised and vowed the same, by their parents and spiritual sureties (though Protestants) in their baptism; wherein solemn promise is both made and taken to follow the Catholic Church and faith, with abomination of all heresies and sects whatsoever: these men (I say) though born of parents either Arians, Macedonians, Pelagians, Anabaptists, Zwinglians, Protestants or other sect or opinion, are not permitted, and much less charged or bound (as the libeller full ignorantly surmiseth) to hold that profession of peculiar

heresy, wherein they were first brought up; seeing they cannot be deemed to have professed that sect in their baptism, (or, as idly this poor divine addeth, in their Confirmation,) which was first taught them by their masters of error, according to the time or place of their first education: but are to be instructed how that their profession in baptism was of the true, Catholic, received, and known Christian faith, dispersed over the world in Christ His Church; whereunto they afterwards stand bound, and consequently by all law both divine and human may be enforced, albeit their actual baptism or education were never so much amongst heretics.

So that, as no law of God or man can force us to be Protestants; no more can any reason be alleged, nor just excuse made, for either young or old, why being baptized or brought up amongst Arians or Calvinists, they may not be forced to return to the Catholic Church and faith again.

And we may marvel in what age or world those people were born, which the libeller noteth to have been burned in Queen Mary's time; having never heard (as he sayeth) of any other religion than that for which they suffered? For the sect which they pretended to die for was not extant in England above five or six years before in the short reign of King Edward the Sixth, or rather of his protector; for before that, in King Henry's days, the same profession was accounted heresy, and the professors thereof were burned for heretics, and that by public laws, no less than in the reign of Queen

Mary. But the truth is, that because we Catholic Christian men do justly ground ourselves upon the former profession of our faith notoriously known to be, and to be called Catholic; these men apishly would imitate our phrase and argument in a thing as far differing as heaven and hell.

Thirdly we say that we have just cause to complain of this present persecution; for that the manner of it is such, and the proceeding so conformable to the old pagan, heretical, and apostatical fashion and dealing against God's Church and children that nothing can be more like.

They hated all Catholics, and counted them traitors, so do you. They specially persecuted bishops, priests, and religious; so do you. They killed them indeed for their belief, but yet pretended other crimes more odious, and especially matters of conspiracy and rebellion against the civil magistrate; so do you. They drove the innocent, by captious interrogatories, into dangers of laws that never offended the laws; so do you. They pressed men by torments to deny their faith, under colour of trying their secret intents against the Prince; so do you. They punished and have put to death one Catholic for another man's fault of the same profession, and, upon general supposals common to all of the same faith, made away whom they list; so do you. I refer the indifferent readers to the persecution of Julian the Apostate; of the Goths and Vandals in Italy and Africa.

It is not only the slaughter of many, and them specially the priests of God, which is most proper

to heretical persecution; but the other infinite spoil of Catholic men's goods, honours and liberty, by robbing them for receiving priests, hearing Mass, retaining Catholic schoolmasters, keeping Catholic servants; mulcting them by twenty pounds a month (which by their cruel account they make thirteen score a year) for not repairing to their damnable schismatical service. By which a number of ancient gentlemen fall to extremity, either of conscience, if for fear they obey, or of their undoing in the world, if they refuse. The taking of their dear children from them by force, and placing them for their seduction with heretics (which violence cannot be done by the law of God to Jews themselves); the burning of our priests in the ears; the whipping and cutting of the ears of others; carrying some in their sacred vestments through the streets; putting our chaste virgins into infamous places appointed for strumpets; and other unspeakable villianies, not inferior to any of the said heathenous persecutions.

They have pined and smothered in their filthy prisons above thirty famous prelates; above forty excellent learned men; of nobles, gentlemen, and matrons a number; whose martyrdom is before God as glorious as if they had by a speedy violent death been dispatched; every dungeon and filthy prison in England full of our priests and brethren; all provinces and princes Christian witnesses of our banishment. In all this we yield them our bodies, goods, country, blood and lives; and nothing will quench their hatred of our priesthood, faith, and

profession. Thus in all causes we suffer, and yet they would not have us complain; they say all is sweet, clement, and merciful in this regiment. But as we said, we no otherwise complain of this persecution against us, but as it is exercised for that faith and quarrel which the laws of God and man approve and justify in us: That it is done by the sheep and subjects of God's Church against their own prelates and pastors, to whom in causes of religion they are bound to obey by the express word of God.

When the lawful magistrate bearing sword by God for punishment of offenders putteth thieves, heretics, or murderers to death, who accounteth it cruelty? who complaineth of persecution? But when contrariwise, by any violent disorder, the malefactors get head and take heart in a commonwealth, and kill a lawful officer, judge, or superior; that is a cruel and horrible fact, though it be done but in one or two persons, instead of a thousand wicked men executed by just laws. So when the Prince and Prelate proceed together against such as by the sentence and law of the Church of Christ are adjudged to be heretics and injurious to God, that is justice; but when the temporal Prince or lay people rebel against their own bishops, to whom in spiritual matters they are bound by God's word to give ear under pain of damnation; yea, when mere laymen and most of the wholly unlearned disorderly take upon them to prescribe unto their own pastors what they should believe, how they should minister the Sacraments, force upon

them false and impious oaths and articles, and that in Parliament, where the bishops by the laws of our country having the principal suffrages, and the rest of the whole Convocation representing the Church of England, honourably and uniformly resisted; whom these men afterward deposed of their honours, took their pulpits, churches, titles and prerogatives from them, imprisoned their sacred persons, and abused some of them, namely the noble Confessor and Bishop of London, by all sorts of villainy. This, lo, is a persecution indeed, where the sheep, subjects and inferiors violently oppose themselves against them whom the Holy Ghost hath placed to be the guides, governors, and curates of their souls. Yea, when they depose, disauthorize, spoil, punish, imprison their own rulers, God's anointed priests, and give warrant by wicked laws to the temporal powers, to visit, correct, judge, and discern of the doctrine of their masters in religion; that is a persecution, sedition, and rebellion in the highest degree.

And we may truly say hereof to our lost country with the Prophet: *Populus tuus sicut hi qui contradicunt sacerdoti*:[1] the state of the persecution being wholly agreeable to the mutiny of Chore, Dathan, Abiron and their confederates in the desert against their lawful priests and governors; yea properly against the high priesthood of Aaron, as our country's revolt now is against the See Apostolic, and all lawful spiritual regiment proceeding from the same.

[1] "Thy people is as those who contradict the priest."

And therefore the libeller guilefully in respect of the simple, but fondly and falsely in our eyes, disproveth our lawful refusal to obey men before God, and our resistance in matter of conscience by the example of Chore's conspiracy; which toucheth all their rebellions from the See Apostolic and Catholic Church, and confirmeth all our endeavours for maintenance of the same against what adversaries soever.

And their rebellion is the more plain, and persecution more hateful and intolerable for that they have not only unnaturally done this violence to their own spiritual rulers, but thereupon also have chosen at their pleasures, and intruded into their places a sort of greedy wolves; unordered apostates; amarous and godless companions; the very filth and channel of the Realm; who for hatred of the Catholic faith from which they are renegades, and through a kind of competency or emulation of the true bishops (whose rooms by secular force they unjustly have invaded and do detain), bear such unquenchable malice to the true anointed clergy, and to their obedient followers, that they cease not to incite the powers of the realm against us, and exercise themselves under the pretended title of their usurped dignities and other temporal commissions, the greatest tyranny and cruelty in the world, standing in fear of their state so long as they see any true bishop or Catholic man alive. Whose actions are the rather intolerable for that they know, and it hath been proved in open court, that they not only usurp those places against God's

and the Church's laws; but that they were not made and invested according to the new laws of the realm, specially made for creation of them.

So as our true pastors being vexed, spoiled, tormented and slain against law, nature, and all reason, by temporal men having no authority in causes ecclesiastical; and by a new forged clergy that exerciseth no jurisdiction, but by evident usurpation against both the canons of the Church, and the laws of our country: who is of so dull a wit as not to see the difference of the discipline of the Church and realm done towards offenders in Catholic times and states by lawful authority, both spiritual and temporal, and the unjust persecution of the Church and her children now, proceeding of neither lawful authority temporal nor spiritual?

Therefore let not the libeller here so much extol the equity and mercy used in her Majesty's regiment to certain of the old principal clergy, because they put them not to death as they have done others sithence. Cicero will not stick to tell them what a benefit is done to an honest man when his purse is taken from him, and yet his life saved; and what thanks are to be rendered in that case to the benefactor. What courtesy soever was shewed at that time more than afterwards to such as followed (which in good sooth was no other than instead of a present quick dispatch on gibbet, to allow them a long and miserable life, or rather a lingering and languishing death, in durance, desolation, and disgrace; a far worse kind of persecution, as St. Hilary noteth against Constantine the Arian Em-

peror, than any other); but whatsoever it was that moved them not to put such to present death as they have done some of the younger sort afterwards, no difference of cause there was, the latter sort being indeed no more traitorous or disloyal than the former.

This may perhaps be the chief cause: that persecutors lightly at the beginning use of purpose and policy gentle allurements, hoping that way to gain the grace of all sorts: which is the reason that Julian the Emperor in the beginning was much noted of clemency; but in fine when he saw he could not extinguish the Christian faith by art, his former hypocritical lenity was at length turned into extreme fury.

In our country, at the first entrance of heresy, they had all the principal clergy, and divers chief Catholics in prisons or places at commandment, where they could not exercise their functions; and being ancient men most of them, they knew they could not live long. Whereof divers having been in high offices hard before, had shewed pleasures to some Protestants that should have else suffered for their heresies or treasons in Queen Mary's days; who now by saving some of the said bishops' lives, thought to requite their courtesies in part. They little thought that these old holy Confessors, being worn out by years and imprisonment, a new generation would rise to defend their old bishops' and fathers' faith.

Wherein perceiving now after twenty five years struggling against God's Church, all their human

counsels to be frustrate; and that they can have no rest in their heresy, nor security of their state, depending (as they think) thereupon; they are now in greater furies and rage towards us, making challenge for our ancestors' faith, than they were with the said holy bishops; though to say truth, in respect of the others' high calling and unction, to degrade only and imprison one of them, was greater punishment than twenty deaths to us, being to them but punies and their pupils, and most obedient children of their pastoral dignity.

But where the libeller pretendeth us to be guilty of other treasons and trespasses than they were, and therefore punished by death rather than they; as also pressed by these new questions of the bull and other capital matters, as they never were; we avouch both assertions to be untrue: neither our treason being other than matter of our conscience and religion more than theirs were; nor yet they (being indeed so quiet and obedient subjects as you confess them to have been) were always free from such or other bloody and quarrelling demands, as now are put to us, for entangling of our blood. Whereof as well the honourable Confessor and Bishop of London may be an example, before any excommunication of the Queen was heard of; as other prelates and prisoners of that time and rank convened afterwards, about nine years ago; and had interrogatories concerning the bull of the very same sense and peril as these that quiet and Catholic men are now tempted even to death withal.

As for the high praises and special testimony,

of wisdom, learning, and loyalty, that it liked the maker of the libel to give in particular and in very nice fashion and myriad terms to certain of the chief clergy; though it be but the sweet salve of Joab to Amasa, kissing and killing both at once (for within six lines he crieth shame and reproach to them all): yet it is a condemnation to him and his fellows that presumed to dispossess so noble, wise, and learned prelates; and to prefer the judgment and verdict of men ignorant and profane before such men's sentence even in matters of religion: and much more to put into their places a number of uncircumcised Philistines, taken of the rascality of the whole realm; and of such only as could and would fill my lords of the Courts' hands with the benediction given to Esau: in respect of whom, or of any or all the rout that suffered for heresy in Queen Mary's days, the poorest and worst that be in trouble for religion at home, or in banishment for the same abroad (of whom this libeller upon either his malicious heretical humour or artificial policy, to diminish their credit with the people, or their grace with the princes and prelates abroad, under whose protection they live, speaketh so contemptibly, and in part so reproachfully and slanderously), may be in all life and behaviour accounted saints.

It is a shame to follow the libeller's folly in the pursuit of such childish things; but he compelleth us, and therefore we be forced to compare our cases and persons to theirs that were burned in our country for heresy and apostacy not long before.

The libel therefore maketh a glorious muster of archbishops, (so he speaketh by *enalage numeri*); for indeed there was but one, and he a notorious perjured and often relapsed apostate; recanting, swearing, and forswearing at every turn; and at the very day and hour of his death, sacrilegiously joined in pretended marriage to a woman, notwithstanding his vow and order (the very first and principal cause of the English calamity). Other bishops or clergymen were there none of all the pack that was burned (though two or three of them had unjustly usurped some prelates' rooms) but were of the basest (for most part), worst, and contemptiblest of both sexes.

Now for these we yield unto the libeller,—first, fourteen noble and most worthy bishops at one time, such as himself upon evil intent commended even now so highly (and indeed they were inferior in virtue and learning to none in Europe), who all were deprived of their honours and high callings, and most of them imprisoned and spitefully used in all respects; besides the famous confessor Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, and a number of bishops of that country. Next we yield you in banishment two worthy English prelates of the same dignity, the one dead, the other yet alive in Rome; three elected bishops now departed this life; we name the honourable Abbot of Westminster; four Priors or Superiors of religious convents; with three whole convents put out of their possessions either into prison or out of the realm.

In the same case were a dozen of famous learned

deans, which next to the bishops do hold the chief dignities in the English Cathedral churches; fourteen archdeacons; above three score canons of Cathedral churches; not so few as a hundred priests of good preferment in Queen Mary's time; besides many a one made in our banishment and since martyred; fifteen heads or rectors of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, men of great importance in those universities and in the commonwealth; and with them and the rather by their good example and provocation, not many years after, many of the chief professors of all sciences; and above twenty doctors of divers faculties for conscience sake fled the realm, or were in the realm imprisoned. And both at the first and in divers years since hath many of the very flower of the universities come over both into the Society, Seminaries, and other places, famous for learning. Where through God's goodness and the great benignity of prelates, princes, and Catholic people, they have passed their long banishment in honest poverty; and some in worshipful calling and rooms in universities with as much grace and favour as to foreigners could be yielded: in no place (thanks be to our Lord God) impeached of crimes or disorder; whereof we can show the honourable testimony of the best where we have lived in all nations.

And for our Christian comportment both at home in affliction, and abroad in banishment (though we be subject to infirmities as other sinful creatures be), we dare stand with all the Protestants in the world. Which we be forced against this infamous

libeller to speak more liberally and confidently, for that he so shamefully and against his own knowledge writeth: "That very few are fled for religion other than such as were not able to live at home but in beggary, or discontented for lack of preferment which they gaped for unworthily in universities and other places; or bankrupt merchants etc." Where the poorest wretches and worst amongst us that in this tedious time of twenty-five years' absence from our country, will relent and return to them, may be most welcome, received with joy and triumph, and made jolly fellows in their new synagogue. *Ita nusquam facilius proficitur, quam in castris rebellium*"[1]; as one saith. So earnestly they woo every poor apostate, lewd scholar, and lost companion; that for weariness of banishment, loose life, or impatience, looketh homewards towards heresy or carnal liberty and license again. By which allurements yet the world knoweth how exceeding few you gain or get from us; whilst we in the mean space (through God's great grace) receive hundreds of your ministers, a number of your best wits, many delicate young gentlemen, and divers heirs of all ages, voluntarily fleeing from your damnable condition, and seeking after God; and many of them also become priests or religious, even now when you hate, contemn, and punish priests so deadly. This is the work of God, marvellous both in your eyes and ours; and cannot by human force, fear or policy be dissolved.

[1] "So nowhere is promotion more easily found than in a rebel's camp."

Count your cards therefore better, and look not only of so many famous clergymen, and the daily increase of them against your violent laws (Sir Libeller), but count, if you dare for shame, among your beggars and bankrupts in Queen Mary's time (as you dishonestly term us now) so many noble and valiant Earls, Barons, Knights, Esquires and gentlemen, that have either suffered prison, or as their conscience led them, stood in arms for defence of their faith and Christian knighthood: not against their Prince or country, but as against such as abused her weak sex and former years of her youth to the establishing of themselves and their heresy; or have forsaken their honourable callings, offices, and livelihoods in their countries for defence of the Christian faith; of which I could name you a noble number of all degrees, able and ready to defend by sword (excepting the respect they have to their Prince and dear country) their religion and honourable actions against all the heretics in the world that defame them.

Whose most worthy order and knighthood the libeller seeketh to disdain, by naming the noble Earl of Westmoreland. Whose peculiar life and actions, or any other particular person of what condition soever though we go not about nor need to defend against malicious envy and detraction of heresy; yet surely notwithstanding his youthful behaviour whatsoever (which he learned there amongst you, and is not so strange in camp or court, you wot well Mr. Libeller), he is able to prove that you slander him extremely; and we can witness that

he liveth in good health and honourable charge in the service of the King Catholic: as we also can tell you that the renowned Count of Northumberland died a saint and holy martyr. For what former quarrel or cause of his death soever there was, yet was he a true martyr, in that he was offered his life if he would alter his religion; as divers others were of the same action in the North; and all other priests pretended to be condemned for other treasons.

Which life and living in as much as they refused for Christ and His faith when it was offered; they be in the number of Saints and Confessors, no less than if they had died only for the same.

And therefore when the adversary chargeth Dr. Saunders and Dr. Bristow with treason for affirming such to be martyrs in this sense; he showeth himself ignorant; as he is malicious in bidding us enrol Somerfield in the number of our martyrs. As perhaps before God he is, if he were distract of his wits, or furious (as all men say, and the libeller confesseth) to whom cannot be imputed whatsoever he did in alienation of mind; and to his enemies shall be imputed murder whatsoever was done against him in that his state: or specially (which is the most common opinion proved by many probabilities) if the poor gentleman were dispatched of purpose and appointment; (as the friar that accused the Duke of Lancaster was, and many others; and as the Protestants said John Hun was in Lollard's tower); for prevention of the discovery of certain shameful practices about the condemnation

and making away of the worshipful, valiant and innocent gentleman Mr. Arden, whose case like to Naboth's, and his words of wishing the Queen in heaven (as it is reported), were so partially or rigorously scanned by the malice of his great and potent professed enemy, that many years hath sought his ruin, together with his zealousness in the Catholic faith, brought him to his most pitiful end, to the great regret of the whole country. But the importunity of the adversary hath brought us somewhat out of our intended course.

To return back therefore to our famous prelates, deposed in this Queen's days, the principal whereof was Archbishop of York, and High Chancellor of the realm (the Primate of Canterbury being deceased before). Which worthy man this libeller hypocritically commendeth for his loyalty, though in religion differing from them; thereby to make the Queen Majesty's mercy towards him a pattern (forsooth) of clemency not to be matched, as he wisely writeth, in Queen Mary's time. Which Queen notwithstanding pardoned a number of heretics and rank condemned traitors, both of life and lands, whom we could name, and all the world knoweth yet alive. And further he addeth (which is a notorious untruth) that the said prelate voluntarily left his Chancellorship and Archbishopric. Where all wise men will witness with him and for him, that he was most unjustly, with the rest of his suffragans and brethren bishops, for refusing to take that absurd oath of the Queen's supremacy, and to use the new Calvinistical service in his pro-

vince, deposed by violence from his spiritual function and dignity.

Whose courage and resistance for quarrel of God's religion (how loyal and obedient soever the libeller would make those men in comparison of us; thereby to insinuate, that the more bloody rigour is used now towards us than in the beginning towards them,) was such in them, and especially in the said Archbishop; that he worthily, and as became his excellency, refused to anoint or crown the Queen's Majesty that now is, though it appertained to his special office to do the same, the Metropolitan being dead, as hath been said before. And so did all the rest of the bishops refuse the same until with much ado they obtained the Bishop of Carlisle (the inferior almost of all the rest) to do that function. Which is here remembered by me for that the libeller of his good discretion recordeth it for special courtesy of that man towards his Princess. Which refusal, of him specially that by office should have done the same, might in reason have been construed to as heinous and treasonable a purpose, as most things that afterwards have been done for the Catholic cause by any of the later years, if the malice of that time had been as ripe then, as now it is against God's Church and priests.

The cause why they durst not then nor could be adduced by any human fear or authority to invest her, was for that they had evident probabilities and arguments to doubt that she meant either not to take the oath or not to keep the same, which

all Christian kings (and specially ours in England) do make at their coronation for maintenance of holy Church's laws, honours, peace, and privileges, and other duties due to every state, as in the time and grant of King Edward the Confessor.

They doubted also lest she would refuse, in the very time of her sacre, the solemn divine ceremony of unction (accustomed in the consecration of all Christian princes), through the evil advices of certain young counsellors, being then in the heat, prime, and pride of their heresy, whereby great scandal might arise, and hurt to the realm. Which they the rather doubted, because they saw (not long before) her Highness at her first entrance to that high estate, command a certain bishop, even the same of Carlisle now named, standing ready to say Mass before her (a strange case in a woman towards a bishop) not to elevate the holy consecrated Host, but to omit that ceremony, because she liked it not. Which the said bishop, to his great honour, refused to obey. A thing that in one of us poor men now perchance would be accounted high treason and disloyalty towards our Sovereign.

And of this his courage in God's cause it never repented him; but for doing the other office at the Coronation, when he saw the issue of the matter, and both himself and all the rest of his sacred order deprived, and the Church's holy laws and faith, against the conditions of her consecration and acceptation into that royal room, violated, he sore repented him all the days of his life; which were, for that special cause, both short and wearisome afterwards unto him.

Otherwise doubtless all the bishops, and the rest of the principal of the inferior clergy did stoutly and worthily as could be wished, and as was possible in that sudden assault of heresy; fearing at the same time their personal peril so little, that they were many of them of that mind that it should be good to use the censure of excommunication against her Highness and some of her leaders into that revolt so dangerous and shameful to the State, so lately reconciled to the See Apostolic, and by oath and promise of all estates confirmed.

But the wiser of the bishops, or at least the milder sort, persuaded the contrary for many inconveniences that might ensue; and so they rather resolved the matter to be remitted to the high Pastor of Christ's universal Church, than to be executed by them that were her subjects, not without peril perhaps of some further tumult, scandal and trouble to the whole clergy; whom they would have interpreted to have done it of malicious and rebellious mind, rather than of love and duty; of which all such censures indeed do proceed, howsoever the party affected and sick in soul (especially princes, except they be very well trained in the fear of God) accept the same; well remembering that many kinds had killed their pastors in like causes.

All this we put down that no man be abused by the enemy to think that the reverend prelates at the first were less zealous (which he calleth more loyal), or more obedient to the Prince in lawful things, than we their scholars and offspring be; or less loyal than they, and therefore more punish-

able than they were; though indeed their perpetual imprisonment and pining away in miserable desolation; their tossing and shifting from one superintendent's house to another, from one keeper to another, from one prison to another, subject to extreme wants, and to a thousand daily villainies besides, whereof some of them now have tasted for twenty five years altogether, is worse than any death in the world. This then is a true persecution indeed, when such men for such causes against all reason and laws be so vexed, by such as owe them all reverence, duty, and obedience.

Such is also the miserable fortune of the Catholic nobility and gentry, whom this libeller saith, "They put not to death, nor loss of their inheritance, though they hold opinion for the Pope's Supremacy, and defend that the Queen's Majesty ought not to be the governor over all her subjects in her realm, being persons ecclesiastical; which opinions (saith he) are nevertheless in some part by the laws of the realm punishable in some degrees." Yet such is their misery (we say) that notwithstanding these fair and false speeches of the enemy, they be far more injured than the clergy; even themselves more vexed, spoiled, dishonoured with fines, mulcts, bonds, penalties, imprisonments, arraignments amongst thieves, pretence of premunires, misprisions, discontentments, evil affections, and contrary religion to the state; pursued by the vilest and most abject men; by ministers, spies, and promoters; assailed and robbed in their own houses, and chased from the same into woods,

yea, sometimes into waters (we speak of knowledge) and at length into banishment. Which who seeth not how miserable a thing it is, when their whole families must either perish of famine at home, or beg in strange lands abroad; in which case both their goods are seized on (as the world knoweth) and their possessions fall to the Princess' hands, or into the fist of some lost companion, which shall upon favour obtain the gift to make spoil of the same.

And yet this good writer, so nicely, to colour their cruelty towards Catholic gentlemen, setteth down the matter as though cases of conscience, religion, or of the See Apostolic were but in some degrees, in some little part punished, and not with loss of lands nor death at any time persecuted; when he and all the world knoweth, that they may and do by those wicked laws of theirs, disinherit, put to perpetual prison and to death, divers of the laity. We refer them to the worshipful Mr. Trugeon's case, who liveth in prison so many years of alms after the spoil and rapine of so goodly possessions. We refer them to the laymen put to death of late at Winchester and Andover; to so many fled for religion of the best nobility and gentry, wholly sacked and spoiled of all they possessed; and so many hundreds more, vexed, pillaged and spoiled at home, as they have not wherewithal to expel famine from themselves and their families. And which is yet more, we tell you, that there can never a Catholic nobleman in the realm, if by any show of religion, or moderation in life,

he give the enemy the least suspicion in the world of his good affection that way, be sure of his life, lands, and state one day. For by one false pretence and calumniation or other, they will entrap him, imprison him, and in fine, (except God marvellously protect him) they will overthrow him and his whole family, and transfer all his honours sometimes to his chiefest enemies. Yea all this often against the Princess's will; being led against her own natural inclination to such things, by the violent domination of certain that overrule her and the whole realm, so as no Catholic can be sure of his lands or life, longer than the adversary list.

God knoweth we do not amplify in the sight of strangers the calamities of Catholics in our country; whose chains, dungeons, spoils, flights, disgraces, deaths, if all the world could see with their eyes, as we do feel, all the princes Christian would take compassion, and account our complaints most just and necessary.

Wherein our miseries are multiplied, that such libellers as these do by false reports and misconstruction of our sentence in religion guilefully go about to defame us with foreigners. As for example, when here this fellow sayeth that there be divers gentlemen Catholics in England that hold, "The Queen ought not to be governor over any her subjects in her realm, being persons ecclesiastical, and yet are not persecuted to death for the same, etc." For their prosecution and persecution I have made it plain before. But for their holding of any such assertion, I must and do say that it

is slanderous, and most untrue. For there is a great difference to say she is not to rule the bishops in causes ecclesiastical, or in matter of ministering the Sacraments, preaching, and doctrine; and to say she is not Queen or governor over the clergy, or that priests or ecclesiastical persons be not her subjects. For they are also bound, yea even monks and religious, as St. Chrysostom sayeth (which this libeller in another place allegeth ignorantly to prove that in all matters such ought to obey their temporal princes), they are bound (I say) to order and obedience of their kings; and to observe their temporal and civil laws made for peace, tranquility, and temporal government of their people; and to do them all honour and service in that behalf; as the libeller right well knoweth that all Catholic bishops and prelates of the Church ever have done, and do at this day, both in our Realm and in all other Realms abroad to their lawful kings, yea to heathen kings also; though in matters of religion and of their spiritual charge, neither heathen nor Christian kings be their superiors, or ought to direct them, but rather to take direction from them.

Thus then over and above all former recounted calamities, by opprobrious tongues, lying lips and pens, we be persecuted for defence of our fathers' faith and the Church's truth. The cause whereof putteth the difference between our martyrdom, and the due and worthy punishment of heretics; who shedding their blood obstinately in testimony of falsehood, against the truth of Christ and his holy Spouse, and out of the unity of the same, are

known malefactors, and can be no martyrs, but damnable murderers of themselves.

One only thing belonging to this passage is yet behind, which we must answer too, briefly. The adversary telleth us that the martyrs of their sect in Queen Mary's time, "denied not their lawful Queen nor maintained her enemies, as ours do." A strange boldness to avouch a lie without necessity which all the world can disprove at the first sight. For how say you (Sir) was not your Archbishop (named here for the principal of all your martyrs) convicted and condemned openly of high treason? Even for waging soldiers for Duke Dudley (a hateful name to England since Henry the Seventh's time; ever aspiring, but still unfortunate to itself and followers) against the Princess that was then, and her Highness that is now?

Was not your next martyr, Superintendent Ridley, a high traitor, publicly preaching and proclaiming at Paul's Cross in London, both Queen Mary and this Queen to be bastards, and to have no right to the crown? Did not your famous Superintendent now of York (yet no martyr, howsoever he hath suffered of late some heavy crosses for other causes of homely quality,) boldly publish the same in Cambridge; as also your confessor Jewel of Salisbury had done the like in Oxford if he had not been in time prevented? Were not all the pack of your Protestants confederated or acquainted with Wyatt's conspiracy and open rebellion against their prince and country, with other wicked attempts against the State of that time, as they have been since, well near against all the

states and provinces christened? But of this you must needs hear more anon.

But it is a world to see the cunning winding of this libeller. For being ashamed as it seemeth, or else in doubt of that which he had boldly affirmed before, he now cometh to foist in a word to salve all (as he thinketh) and that is: "That at their death they denied not their Queen, etc." And in such deceitful cobbling in of words, he passeth no line lightly without fraud. But for answer hereof, we say: that what they did at their death or the day after, God knoweth: but it is plain that in their life they were notorious rebels, as most of that sect be. And how many of our men (I pray you, sir,) of whose lives and deaths so great numbers can bear witness, denied their obedience, or meekly prayed not for the Queen at the very place and time of their execution? Every one of them as they lived exemplary for duty and loyal behaviour to all their superiors both temporal and spiritual; so yielded they their happy life and blood in all apostolical patience, peace, and meekness, for the faith wherein they, our country, and all converted nations in the world, were baptized; and for the very same belief wherein the old glorious martyrs of God's Church gave up their lives.

This faith, this Church, this cause, severeth our true martyrs from the notorious malefactors of the contrary side. And so giveth us just cause to complain of persecution; and the enemy no reason at all; of what number, name, obstinacy, age, or quality soever they be that have suffered for their heresy.

CHAPTER IV.

That our priests and Catholic brethren have behaved themselves discreetly, and nothing seditiously, in their answers to the questions of the Bull of Pius Quintus; and that they cannot lawfully be pressed nor put to death as traitors by the true meaning of the old laws of the Realm for the same; with examination of the six Articles proposed about the said Bull.

IN times of heretical regiment, where politics have all the government, though religion be sometimes pretended as a thing whereof they make their advantage for the affairs specially intended, yet indeed the first and principal care is of their temporal state, and so consequently of the Prince's and their own well-being in this life; the lot whereof they often prefer with Esau, before the weal of the world to come, the blessing of Jacob, or the kingdom of Christ; which is His reign and regiment spiritual in the Church, the house of His glory and our salvation on earth.

Contrariwise in Christian Catholic commonwealths the chief respect is and ever was (as it ought to be) of the honour of God, the good of holy Church, the salvation of the souls of their people; and so to pass through these secular things as eternal joys be not lost, and put in hazard.

In which difference of things you shall easily perceive, that in the days of disorder and error the faults done against the Prince, or so said to be done, are far more odious and punishable, than whatsoever is directly done against God; against

the Commonwealth, than against the Church; against the body, than against the soul; more ado about Cæsar's tribute than about God's due. As in the time and regiment of Jeroboam; when all the care was how to manage matters so, that the kingdom of Israel might be severed from Judah, and so established in itself that no spiritual union by worship in Jerusalem might reduce the divided tribes to their former state again; and all things tending to that reunion were grievously punished, but matters of faith and religion wholly contemned.

In our country when God and His kingdom had the first place, the terrene state the second (as in truth it ought to be; and where it is otherwise, whatsoever is pretended, Christ hath no place at all,) then were the crimes committed against God first and principally punished; as blasphemy, schism, and such like; and secondly, treasons and trespasses done against the Prince and country; whereof Queen Mary's days and regiment may be an example, when without the forgery of new or false treasons, the lately named Archbishop and other principal heretics, being convicted of conspiracy and open traitorous actions, might have justly suffered for the same; but yet were rather burned for heresy, as for their more heinous crime; and which a Christian prince ought to regard far more than anything committed against his regality.

But now, and ever when the superiority temporal hath the preeminence, and the spiritual is but accessory, dependent, and wholly upholden of the other, error in faith is little accounted of, whatso-

ever their pulpit men (to make themselves and their patrons sport) bawl of such matters; and all our doings, endeavours, and exercises of religion are drawn to treasons and trespasses against the Queen; themselves protesting, in all their doings, that they meddle not with us for our doctrine whatsoever; thereby either insinuating that our religion is true, and indeed by the judgment of their own conscience not punishable, or else that they care not for it, nor what we believe, no further than toucheth their prince and temporal weal; wherein yet they wipe so hard as they draw blood.

For, finding no errors, heresies, or false opinions concerning God and His worship worthy to condemn us of, and being ashamed of their statutes of new treasons (as it seemeth); they have found out a new fault, and a term for the same, not usual either in writers of our schools and divinity, or in their own laws, which they call traitorous assertions, treasonable and malicious opinions against the Queen, as in a former like pamphlet, evil affection or evil disposition towards her Majesty; which is now the only and proper point they pursue against us both in judgment and writing. For which as of late they have put divers to death; so by the same they try (as they say) whether Papists be traitors or no, and accordingly to use them. And for the better trial thereof, they propose unto all men whom they list make away or otherwise endanger, certain demands which in effect are these that ensue:

Whether the Bull of Pius V. against the Queen's Majesty be a lawful sentence, and ought to be obeyed by the subjects of England?

Whether the Queen's Majesty be a lawful Queen, and ought to be obeyed by the subjects of England, notwithstanding the Bull of Pius V. or any other bull or sentence that the Pope hath pronounced or may pronounce against her Majesty?

Whether the Pope have or had power to authorize her subjects to rebel or take arms against her, or to invade her dominions; and whether such subjects so doing, do lawfully therein?

Whether the Pope have power to discharge any of her Majesty's subjects, or the subjects of any Christian prince from their allegiance or oath of obedience to her Majesty, or to their Prince for any cause?

Whether Dr. Saunders in his book of the Visible Monarchy of the Church, and Dr. Bristow in his book of Motives (writing in allowance, commendation, and confirmation of the said Bull of Pius V.) have therein taught, testified, or maintained a truth or a falsehood?

If the Pope do by his Bull or sentence pronounce her Majesty to be deprived, and no lawful Queen, and her subjects to be discharged of their allegiance and obedience unto her; and after, the Pope or any other by his appointment and authority do invade this realm; which part would you take, or which part ought a good subject of England to take?

Wherein if you say nothing, or refuse to answer sõmewhat in contempt or derogation of the See Apostolic; then are you judged no good subject, but a traitor. Whereby let all princes and people Christian bear witness of our miseries and unjust afflictions; who are enforced to suffer death for our only cogitations and inward opinions, unduly sought out by force and fear, and yet not condemned by any Christian school in the world, nor uttered by us but upon forcing interrogatories; we having committed nothing by word or deed against our Prince or laws, but doing all acts of honour and homage unto her, and suffering meekly what punishment soever she would lay upon us for our religion. For so most part of all sorts of Catholics have done both in England and Ireland for this twenty five years space; only a very few nobles of both countries taking once arms for their defence, in all this long time of intolerable affliction; (the like patience you shall hardly find in Protestants, as their furious rebellions against their Sovereigns in France, Flanders and Scotland do testify:) our nobles and gentlemen having borne all those anguishes of body and mind, with loss of honours, country, lands and liberty for so long time, have both at home and abroad obeyed her with such loyalty, as subjects ought to do their Sovereign, never took arms in all England upon the Bull of Pius V. nor any time since the publication thereof: (contrary to the deceitful division of those times, things and actions set down by the libeller, placing that after, which was done before

the Bull was published), but have shewed themselves in all cases as serviceable as before.

The clergymen also, whether religious, priests, or students of the two colleges in Rome and Rheims, whether they were in the service of their country at home, or in the schools absent, did all in manner (notwithstanding the said censure of His Holiness) use all due reverence and respect, uttering in no preaching speech or book, no nor at the hour of their death and martyrdom, nor ever before in any their confessions to the magistrate, any disloyal word against her Majesty. No (which we further avouch) not any one priest of the Society or seminaries can be proved by the adversary to have absolved in secret Confession any one man living from his allegiance; or to have ever either in public or private dissuaded any one person in the realm from his obedience in civil causes to the Queen.

Furthermore it is certain that never priest had any such commission given hitherto by either the Pope's Holiness or such other Superiors in religion or college, to deal in any such matters touching the Queen, neither is there any such thing implied in either the authority or act of reconcilement; howsoever the jealous enemy hath found knots in those rushes that of themselves are smooth. As the contrary is doubtless most true; the governors of the students always of purpose prohibiting, and as much as in such numbers of all sorts (not all ever having discretion to season their zeal) could be, providing that in the course of our school questions and

controversies concerning the Pope's preeminence, no matter of depriving or excommunicating princes should be disputed; no, not so much as in generalities, and much less the particularizing of any point in our Queen's case. Which matter notwithstanding it be determinable by divinity, and do come in course to be handled in schools as other questions do; yet because it is incident to matter of state (as now our country most unfortunately standeth), and consequently might be interpreted by the suspicions to be meant of her, whose case men liked lest to deal in, it was thought best to pass over all with silence.

Which moderation was kept in all places and persons of our nation, two only learned men of great zeal and excellence indeed—Dr. Saunders and Dr. Bristow—excepted, who had their special reasons to do as they did which we will neither defend nor reprove. But many Catholics were sorry therefor, and wished the matter so offensive had never been touched, but committed only to higher powers, and especially to God's judgment, that He might, either in this world or the next (where both Popes and princes must come to their accounts), discern of the controversy betwixt our two superiors, the one being our spiritual Head and Sovereign, who is the higher and in matter of religion rather to be obeyed, the other our temporal Prince, to whom likewise in such sort and matter as the Holy Scripture appoint us, we owe all duty and obedience.

Whereupon afterwards not only Dr. Bristow

omitted in his second edition or abridgment of his book that odious point, not fit at the time to be handled, but Dr. Saunders also (though his former treatise was not, of any stranger Catholic and learned, in any part disliked, being more free therein because they be not entangled by authority and sway of laws as we are), yet called he in, and suppressed to his life's end, a very learned book made in defence of Pius V. his sentence, and printed above fourteen years since; no copy thereof that is known being now extant. Which course of moderation all Catholics of all sorts both spiritual and temporal have followed ever since, restraining (as much as in them lay) the rigour of that sentence.

And the blessed martyr Father Campion himself, as it recited in the story of his arraignment, falling in talk with a certain principal Cardinal in Rome at his first arrival there (a dozen years sithence, and not many after the Bull was published), he being asked of English affairs, and how the Catholics so much distressed held yet out, and what effect the excommunication had, answered that the Bull was troublesome to them, and cause of the Queen's more heavy hand upon them, insinuating that it were good it were mitigated, so that it should not bind the subjects, but that they might obey her as their lawful Princess, notwithstanding any contrary sentence of the See Apostolic before given. Which good office of speech and meaning the adversaries were not ashamed to charge him withal in his judgment.

As their folly and partiality are also so great

herein, that in this libel they specially put down, to prove both the said good Father and his Superior the Rev. Fr. Robert Persons, guilty of treason; for that they made special suit unto His Holiness that now is, to qualify the censure of his predecessor, at least so far that it might not bind or make culpable any her Catholic subjects in conscience for obeying and serving her as their Sovereign; howsoever it stood against the Protestants, who neither looked nor cared to be discharged of it; as the Catholics for conscience sake, most desired to be free. They knew His Holiness would not wholly alter that censure, the case standing with the principal party as it did before his predecessor's sentence. They knew the Queen and Protestants themselves made no account thereof, nor desired to be loose. They knew it singularly pertained to the safety of her person and the quiet of the state, that the Catholics were persuaded they might lawfully obey her as their Queen and Governess, notwithstanding the said sentence. They knew the subjects would gladly do that with safety of conscience, as a way far more secure for both themselves and the Queen which they did before only for fear. They knew they could not profitably proceed in their spiritual work of confessing, converting and reconciling the subjects to the Holy Church, except they might by Apostolic warrant resolve them for their lawful obedience to the Queen. They thought good where neither the Pope could be induced, without the repentance of the party, to call in the censure, nor the Queen to yield to any

condition that way; rather thus to seek for mitigation, than to leave it in full force still: and finally, rather thus by moderation and sweetness to temporize betwixt both their Superiors; to see whether God might not move the heart of her Majesty, wholly lying in His hand, to enter into some good conditions for her reuniting to the communion of the Christian world; the only way of saving her realm in this world, and her soul in the next.

Alas, what evil office have these good Fathers done herein? What treason is committed more now, than if they had desired His Holiness to have discharged the Queen and Protestants also of all bond of that Bull? How could either they or the rest of the priests do more dutifully and discreetly in this case, than to provide that all such with whom they only had to deal, might stand free and warranted in their obedience, and to commit the rest that cared not for excommunication to the judgment of God?

By all which we may see the notable discreet and sincere dealing of Catholics all this while, about fifteen years, that this sentence hath been extant and published; and their manifold endeavours to mitigate and ease the burthen thereof, in all such as might thereby have remorse to obey and acknowledge the Queen's regality. Never writing of the matter, nor dealing in it, but to the end of pacification, public rest, and security of the state, brought into brandle and doubt by this unhappy alteration in religion. And so they might have had all the learned of our nation either silent in the question

of the excommunication, or mitigators of it still, had not the unwise and very impolitic importunity of certain in government (seeking by all direct or indirect drifts the blood of poor Catholics) forced men to their needful defence and interpretation of their meaning herein; yea verily to seek with diligence the truth of the matter, which of purpose they did not let pass before, as a thing impertinent to their edification or valuation.

Which they did the rather, for that Pius V. the author thereof being departed, his successor Gregory XIII. that now happily sitteth in the Apostolic throne, never revived the same (that we know of); but by connivance and expectation of our Queen and country's return to Holy Church's peace, and to the society of other Christian kings, suffered the sentence after a sort to die, specially so far as it concerned the Catholics (as is said): even as the like censure of excommunication and deprivation published by Paul III. against King Henry the Eighth did pass over in peace to his dying day, by the patience of other Popes following; and the many hopes and proffers which the said King made of his return to the Church's obedience again, though, prevented by death, it pleased not God to make him worthy of the same.

And this was the Catholics' honest desire and behaviour touching the excommunication ever since the publishing thereof, until now of late, when by their interrogatories and new order of most bloody, unlawful, and unwise search of men's consciences, not deeds, words, or writings, but very inward

opinions, thoughts and cogitations of heart, are wrung out of men by the questions before rehearsed. Whereby not only divers holy priests that have suffered, but also some other being strangely and cunningly brought into this odious and dangerous matter of state, and pressed against their wills to say their cogitations; they did notwithstanding as much as was possible, avoid any ways so to determine or answer, as might be prejudicial to their allegiance; which they observed, not only whilst they had hope of life, but even after their condemnation also, and at the very last hour of death.

Some meekly and discreetly declined from the question one way, some another; but all with great show of honesty, fidelity, and innocency. One (as Father Campion) answered: they were controversies and questions not determinable in that court, but in school.

Another, that he thought the Pope, that gave the sentence, might err in some cases, that is, though not in doctrine, yet in fact, for want of information, proofs, and other circumstances needful in such cases to be observed; but whether he did err or no, and abuse his authority in this censure, that he referred to God, himself not being sufficient to judge of his Superior's doings.

Some said they never saw the Bull in their life, and therefore could not answer of the sense or force thereof, nor be guilty of any crime towards her Majesty, contained in the same; no nor should ever have much thought or heard of it, had not the other now revived the matter.

One or two answered that they were not so learned as to discuss ex tempore all those matters contained in their demands, but that they esteemed of all in general as the holy Catholic Church teacheth, which is (said they) the Roman Church.

Some said there were or might be causes, as if a prince should fall to apostacy, Arianism, or such like, that deserved excommunication and deprivation; in which case the Pope might discharge the subjects from their obedience; but of the Queen's particular case they would not talk at all.

To be short, some being demanded what they would do, or advise others to do, if the matter should come to a battle for religion, as it fell out in Ireland, answered: they would do when that happened (which they trusted would not so chance) as good priests ought to do, that is, pray for peace, and that truth and justice in war might prevail.

In all which you see: on the one side, how carefully all men eschewed to utter their opinions in any other words but such as could, in truth, no way give offence to the Queen or state; on the other, into what marvellous perplexity the ministers and maintainers of heresy are brought, that cannot but by such violent means be secure in their sect, nor uphold their foul practices against God, the Church, and their own country.

Let our Christian brethren of all nations judge of the causes, means, and measure of our calamities. We never procured our Queen's excommunication; we have sought the mitigation thereof; we have done our allegiance notwithstanding; we have an-

swered, when we were forced unto it, with such humility and respect to her Majesty and Council, as you see; no man can charge us of any attempt against the realm, or the Prince's person: Yet, not content with this, they will know that we will do hereafter, if such or such a thing should chance; they will sound all the Catholics' hearts in the realm, and (which is more than Antichristian violence) they will punish them as traitors by death most cruel, for their only thoughts. Yea, (which God Himself doth not) for future faults never committed, nor perhaps ever like to come to pass.

Which search of men's future facts or intentions, whereof they themselves have neither knowledge nor rule beforehand, is unnatural, intolerable, and to commonwealths most pernicious; and were able to make all the Catholics of the realm to be wholly desperate; not finding their loyal behaviour (shown in all kind of office and service to their Prince) sufficient to save their lives, but may be examined of these captious and deadly chapters; of their inward opinions and purposes to come; when the magistrate, or any man's one powerful enemy list require it. Especially now when their vulgar ministers give it out generally that all those whom they call Papists be in their hearts traitors, and this libeller saith, those aforesaid questions are most proper to try them.

Into such thraldom of body and soul that barbarous heresy brought us, and them also into those hazards of their state; which they pretend to be the causes of these their so extraordinary proceedings,

as may be thought were never before used, nor lawful by nature or custom of any civil country in earth.

Some such demands the Scribes and Pharisees and other of the Jews' sectaries, proposed in times past to our Saviour, to entrap Him in speech, and to drive Him to utter some treasonable words or conceit against the Emperor's regality over the people of God, which they presumed to be evil thought of of divers, and specially of the better and more exact zelators of the law, notwithstanding that either for fear or other causes every one seemed in all exterior offices to obey. Of which tempting questions, though Christ by His divine wisdom easily discharged Himself, nevertheless, they ceased not still to exclaim: *Hunc inuenimus prohibentem tributa dare Cæsari* "[1]; as others did afterwards the like of St. Stephen and St. Paul; and even so our English Sadducees are not satisfied but by blood, never resting till they have pressed or sucked out something, at least for men's intentions or other casual events to come, that may sound against their duties to the Queen. Such is our present menage of state in England, and into such terms are we brought of extremity.

When all other pretences, practices, forged crimes, and false witnesses against priests or Catholics do fail, then are these made just quarrels of their death, and the highest treason in the world, viz: to affirm upon their unreasonable and impor-

[1] "We have found this man forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar."

tune demands, that if (which God forbid) the Queen by supposal, should fall to Arianism, apostacy, or atheism (whereunto man's frailty is subject) she might be deprived, and her subjects discharged of obedience to her. This is the only treason which they have tried out of Catholics, which for all that cannot be treason, how plainly or voluntarily soever it were spoken; much less being wrested out by commandment and subtle drift of interrogatories.

The libeller sayeth nothing is punished in us for question of conscience or religion; but yet this is such in the sight of all reasonable men in the world. For it is a mere matter of divinity, if not defined for us, yet at least disputable in school as themselves will confess. It concerneth the Pope's supremacy and power Apostolical, for which this libeller affirmeth and repeateth often that none be endangered of life or limb in England. This proposition (I say) or any other equivalent to it, viz: that the Pope hath power to excommunicate or deprive a prince in case of heresy or apostacy; and consequently, to absolve his subjects from their oath and obedience to him; or to stand in defence of themselves and the Catholic faith against him: cannot be proved treason by the statute of Edward the Third, upon which only he saith we be condemned for traitors. Whosoever should avouch the same in any Christian country in the world, or in our own country, in the time of the said King Edward had held the same opinion, should not, nor could not have been convicted of treason, trea-

sonable assertion, or evil affection to the Prince or country; because it standeth with the honour and safety of the whole commonwealth, and the rulers thereof, so far to be subject and obedient to Christ and His Church, that they count themselves no longer to stand or reign rightfully, than they stand and reign for the advancement of God's truth and kingdom in earth, which is His Church.

What treason had it been to Queen Mary (whose regiment for an example of their grief and our contentment this libeller so often allegeth) if in school, book, or pulpit, it had been affirmed, that for heresy or atheism a prince, or herself, might be deposed.

If in the famous university of Paris, or honourable college of Sorbonne, that conclusion of divinity were defended, that the Pope in case of heresy might censure their king; would that trouble his most Christian Majesty, who desireth no longer to reign than he doth advance the glory of Christ? The like might be said of the other great Monarch of Spain, who would not have his own issue (which God Almighty bless) succeed him, if it were not Catholic. No more would the Emperor's sacred Majesty; no nor the Pope's Holiness (in spiritual affairs and regiment of our souls, superior to all the rest) count any of his own subjects traitors, for holding that in case of heresy or apostacy he might be deposed or lose the right of his place and dignity.

We ask here the libeller, by what law or custom, canon, civil or national of our country or other,

is this made treason? Or why it should be more treason in England than in any other place? Seeing no law hitherto hath passed by authority against the same; nor any opinion to be counted prejudicial to any prince or state; no affection treasonable that is true in divinity; for that no truth agreeable to God's law and man's can be contrary to the lawful sovereignty of any power or potentate on earth.

But you will say (and that is all you can say) that though the general proposition that princes for heresy may be deposed, were true; yet the application thereof to her Majesty in particular, may be treason; for that it is made high treason by act of Parliament in the thirteenth year of the Queen's reign for any to call her a heretic or a schismatic, under pain of death.

To which we answer, first, that our affirming that she may be deposed for heresy, doth not at all avouch her to be one; no more than the like assertion of the King of Spain would imply him to be such a one, or us to think him such a one. And therefore if your own conscience accuse yourselves, or give you suspicion that whatsoever is said toucheth you, it is you that apply the general speech to your own particular, and not we. Secondly we say that your said law may bind us that by subjects not to speak so unreverently of her to whom God hath given power over us in this life, as to call her heretic, infidel, or schismatic (for those be the terms of your slander) though we should know her damnably to err in religion; but the Pope is not

subject to that law, but he may according to the authority given unto him, determine by the laws of God and holy Church, who is an heretic; and so will the learned of foreign schools whether you will or no, apply the definition of heresy or of an heretic, to what person they please.

As for us, and our brethren executed, you know none ever called the Queen heretic voluntarily, contemptuously, or maliciously, as your statute runneth; but when they were driven by you of set purpose to offend the law, so to have some quarrel to make them away.

For example of your charitable and no less politic dealing in such matters, we will set down the holy martyr John Nelson's case. This man being brought before the magistrate, was demanded what religion he was of. To which when he boldly answered that he was a Catholic, they further asked what he thought of that religion and service which was used in England; and to that when he answered that he took it to be heretical and schismatical, then (quoth they) "What is schism"? "A voluntary revolt" (said he) "from the Roman and Catholic Church." "Well, then" said the magistrate, "Go to; what thinkest thou of the Queen, is she a schismatic or no?" For of anything said before they had no just pretence of law to condemn him of treason. The man of God answered that he never so called her for reverence of her high dignity; nor could tell (for that he knew not her Majesty's meaning) whether this religion were established by her special commandment and authority or no; and

therefore humbly prayed them not to urge him wittingly to commit any crime, wherein hitherto he had never offended. But they would not so cease; but said they could well resolve him in that, that indeed this English religion was established by her, and by her maintained. The confessor still refused to answer, saying that he knew not so much, for all that, of her mind and conscience, but it might proceed rather of some of her ministers more than of herself: in which sort (as St. Augustine noteth) a man may be deceived by heretics, but yet properly no heretic: *Haereticis credens, et non proprie haereticus*. But because they would needs have the poor man's death, they left him not so; "But what," say they, "if she were the author of this religion, then whether were she a schismatic or heretic, or no?" The confessor being loth to exasperate the Prince on the one side, and more loth to offend God or give scandal on the other; after he had paused a while and asked strength from above, finally he said: "If she be the setter forth and defender of this religion, then she is a schismatic and heretic indeed." And so they got the holy person into the compass of their law, for which afterwards he was martyred.

Now we do appeal to the equity of all Christian people how loth our brethren be to offend by word or deed the honour of the Queen; and after what a shameful captious sort they be forced to do or say that which the enemy chargeth them withal, even to death. Alas, it is not Catholics that apply those universal truths of schools to the particular case of

our state, but it is their own uneven drifts, questions, fears, and suspicions that make them imagine and convert all to themselves. As also it is their error in regiment (well near as may be doubted incorrigible) that hath brought themselves to these perplexities, and us to these coacted miseries and complaints.

Lastly we say, that howsoever any one Catholic or other hath been driven or shall be forced hereafter to offend against the said statute of supremacy or heresy, or against any new law made in that behalf; yet in equity they cannot be pursued to death for that cause; seeing our adversary protesteth here publicly in his libel, that no other trespasses shall be objected to us as matter capital, saving treasons so made by the old laws of the realm. As we for our parts eftsoons do protest and avow before God (seeing we are now enforced to treat of these affairs) that whatsoever we have said or shall say in this our defence or remonstrance touching the former articles and demands about the bull, neither hath been nor shall be by us anywise spoken, meant or applied, against our natural Princess or country; howsoever any suspicious, malicious, or guilty mind shall peradventure construe or apply the same. Neither shall the matter be otherwise treated of by me in this place, but in such general terms as the schools use; without touching any particular person now living; referring the application of all to God's Church and to the chief pastors thereof; and to the conscience of every good Christian reader to whose hands this

book may chance to come. As on the other side, we will not busy ourselves to defend every private man's writing or action concerning the matter of the excommunication, but will without partiality and personal quarrel, for a common apology of us all, declare and prove these assertions of the Pope's power and superiority over kings in cases of heresy, apostacy, and other like, to be agreeable to God's word, and not treasonable nor undutiful to any prince or state in the world; but beneficial to all and every commonwealth under heaven, whose government is contained within the prescript of Jesus Christ our Redeemer's law.

But first before we come to the declaration of Catholic doctrine concerning the Church's authority in censuring and deposing princes for matter of religion, it shall not be amiss perhaps to set down the judgment and practice of Protestants in the same case. Which though it weigh little or nothing with us, as being altogether both done and spoken of seditious and partial affection to their heresy, and against the lawful magistracy of God; yet the adversary, seeing his own masters against him, shall well perceive that the resisting of princes and magistrates in cause of religion, as also the subjects taking arms for their defence in such a case, is no way to be accounted treason, but most lawful, according to their new gospel.

And first their grand-master, John Calvin, putteth down his oracle as a conclusion approved of their whole sect and confraternity in these words. *Abdicant se potestate, terreni principes, dum insur-*

gunt contra Deum: inmo indigni sunt qui censeantur in hominum numero. Petius ergo conspuere oportet in illorum capita, quam illis parere, ubi sic proteruiunt ut velint spoliare Deum suo iure, etc. Which in English is thus: "Earthly princes do bereave themselves of all authority when they do erect themselves against God, yea they are unworthy to be accounted in the number of men; and therefore we must rather spit upon their heads, than obey them; when they become so proud or perverse that they will spoil God of His right," and to the same place I further refer the reader for his instruction.

For declaration of which text, and for cutting of all cavillation about the interpretation of his words, their brother Beza shall speak next, who alloweth and highly commendeth in writing the fighting in France for religion against the laws and lawful King of that country, saying in his epistle dedicatory of his new testament to the Queen of England herself: "That the nobility of France (under the noble Prince of Condé) laid the first foundation of restoring true Christian religion in France, by consecrating most happily their blood to God in the battle of Druze. Whereof also the ministers of the reformed French churches (as their phrase is) do give their common verdict, in the confession of their faith thus: We affirm that subjects must obey the laws, pay tribute, bear all burthens imposed, and sustain the yoke even of infidel magistrates, so for all that that the supreme dominion and due of God be not violated."

Zwinglius, likewise a cater-cosen to the Calvin-

ists in religion, writeth thus: "If the Empire of Rome, or what other sovereign soever, should oppress the sincere religion, and we negligently suffer the same, we shall be charged with contempt, no less than the oppressors thereof themselves. Wherefore we have an example in the fifteenth of Jeremiah, where the destruction of the people is prophecied, for that they suffered their King Manasses, being impious and ungodly, to be unpunished."

And more plain in another place. "When kings," saith he, "rule unfaithfully and otherwise than the rule of the Gospel prescribeth, they may, with God, be deposed, as when they punish not wicked persons, but specially when they advance the ungodly, as idle priests, etc., such may be deprived of their dignity, as Saul was."

And what our English Protestants write or think of this matter, you shall well perceive, by their opinion and high approbation of Wyatt's rebellion in Queen Mary's days. Whereof one of their chief ministers called Goodman thus speaketh in his treatise entitled, "How Superior Magistrates ought to be obeyed": "Wyatt did but his duty, and it was the duty of all others that profess the Gospel, to have risen with him, for maintenance of the same. His cause was just, and they all were traitors that took not part with him. O noble Wyatt! thou art now with God, and those worthy men that died for that happy enterprise," etc.

What the Scottish ministry defineth in this question is plain, by the verdict of John Knox their

mightiest prophet; the arguments of a treatise of this matter being set down by himself thus: "If the people have either rashly promoted any manifest wicked person, or else ignorantly chosen such a one as after declareth himself unworthy of regiment above the people of God (and such be all idolaters and cruel persecutors) most justly may the same men depose and punish him."

So Luther also, the Protestants' Elias, being asked his opinion of the Almans confederacy made at Smalcalde against Charles V. their lawful and noble Emperor, answered: "That indeed he was in doubt for a time whether they might take arms against their supreme magistrate, or no; but afterwards seeing the extremity of things, and that religion could not otherwise be defended, nor themselves, he made no conscience of the matter, but either Cæsar, or any waging wars in his name, might be resisted."

Sledan also recorded that the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave gave this reason of their taking arms against their supreme magistrate: "For as much," say they, "as Cæsar intendeth to destroy the true religion and our ancient liberty, he giveth us cause enough why we may with good conscience resist him, as both by profane and sacred histories may be proved."

The same writer reporteth the like of the ministers of Magdeburg; declaring how the inferior may defend himself against the superior, compelling him to do against the truth and rule of Christian laws.

By all which you see that to resist the magistrate, defend themselves in cases of conscience, and to fight against the superior for religion, is a clear and ruled case, and no treasonable opinion at all against the Prince, if we will be judged by Protestants, wherein their known facts be far more notorious than their writings. For that Beza, and other the chief ministers of the French Calvinistical Congregations, were themselves in field against two or three of their natural liege lords and kings.

Zwinglius also, the unfortunate father of our English faith, was killed in battle, as all the world knoweth; and thereby it is evident that the instance of Dr. Saunders, who followed of zeal the late commotion in Ireland, cannot be so much objected to the Catholics' reproach as the adversary would have it seem; whose report notwithstanding of the manner of his death, is also a very slanderous untruth.

The Protestants of Flanders held it for a most certain truth (by the approbation also and solicitation of England), that they might rebel against their supreme magistrate for religion, when by force of arms they altered all, and deposed their sovereign. Which ought the more to weigh with the English Calvinists for that (as I have signified) their pudding lay also in that fire. As likewise it is well known that themselves have been the chiefest procurers and doers in the depriving of the lawful and anointed Queen of Scotland, and for her further affliction have kept her also in captivity these fourteen years together.

And here in these cases of their own no treasona-

ble propositions, no resisting of " God's anointed," no disobeying the king " as being the most precellent," no overruling the person " that acknowledgeth no superior in earth, but holdeth only of God," (for all these terms the libeller seemeth to make great advantage of against the resisters of our Queen, and deposing of her Majesty by the See Apostolic) can have place or bear sway. But when it cometh to a point of their own fresh and flourishing religion, then neither unction nor lawful succession, nor any other princely prerogative can serve lawful magistrates, or save them from their subjects fury; the English brethren ever specially assisting the rebellion as well by their divinity as otherwise by force of arms to their power.

The question therefore is not (neither is it material to the purpose which the libeller so much flourisheth very idly) of the Prince's lawful creation or consecration; but whether a Prince lawfully invested and anointed may be for any cause, namely for matter of religion, resisted by his subjects. We say that the Protestants of all sects do both hold and practise it, England itself specially allowing of the same. And therefore there is no treason in this case, if we follow the present divinity of England; nor new example, if we respect the furious attempts and rebellions of Scotland, Flanders, France and Germany, against their superiors, for maintenance of their heresies, and all well allowed by the ministry of every province. And upon these examples you should look (my Masters of England) when you make so much ado for one poor

commotion made in defence of the Catholics, in twenty six years space of the greatest persecution and tribulation that ever was since the Goths and Vandals' times. Where if the Queen had holden her ancestors' faith, and had ruled over so many Protestants but a quarter of the time, afflicting them as she hath done Catholics (though perhaps not herself so much as her unmerciful ministers) her Majesty should have seen other manner of attempts against her state and quietness than have fallen by Catholics either in England or Ireland in this her reign. Which her long prosperity in government proceedeth specially of the said Catholics timorous conscience, quietness of nature, love of order and obedience, and great detestation of garboils, stirs and troubles.

Which the very heretics themselves have often reproachfully and scornfully imputed unto them openly, saying to some of great account whom they had afflicted extremely: What will you, or what dare you? Your hearts we know and your wishes; but you are very cowards and beasts that be Papists. We stand in no fear of your forces or whatsoever you can do against us. Yea the very ministers will out of pulpit protest that the Papists shall never have the world for them, come what change of prince or laws soever, for they will fight for it to death.

Which challenge and vaunt they make on every hand so boldly, and yet very indiscreetly, because they see the Catholics more sad, grave, honest and quiet natured men, consisting of devout and aged

persons and of godly women; whereas the Protestants now in possession of the state, goods and government, are risen (most of the principal) by alteration, spoil and faction; their chief followers youthful persons, venturous and desperate; and the rest, both of laity, and specially clergy, entangled by the new present commodities and pleasures (which this new religion yieldeth in all fleshly lusts and turpitude) are impatient, vindictive, restless, and furious; and in a very few (in comparison of Catholics and quiet men) make a great show and a terrible muster in the sight of quiet, honest and peaceable persons.

Now these violent and factious men, when the Prince and laws go for them, they make their advantage thereof; but if they be against them, they break all bonds of obedience, despise domination, make spoil and havoc of all things, and run headlong into all most destestable disorders.

If you mark them you shall perceive they make their market most in the minority of princes or of their infirmity; as in England in King Edward's time; in France under the deceased two young brethren of his Majesty that now is; in our country again by the infirmity of the Princess' sex that now reigneth, otherwise truly of most excellent gifts, but always a woman, easily seduced, and not hardly led and drawn by those whom she either trusteth or feareth, in which case commonly the more gentle or innocent the sovereign is, the more violent is the government, through the abuse of their simplicity by the tyranny of such as occupy under them principal authority.

How this sort of men abused the years, sex and benignity also of the noble lady now Queen of Scotland, whose fortune thereby hath been so hard, as the world now seeth; and withal, how they have abused her most high and excellent son's minority, to the advancement of their sect and selves, no man can be ignorant. And now when that rare Prince is come to years of knowledge, and thereby like to espy and punish the wicked treachery and treasons of those that have so abominably abused his infancy and mother's sex; they barbarously, by the counsel of wicked ministers (the rascality of the realm), seized upon his royal person, and sithence being delivered by God from his enemies' hands, they stick not to tell him to his face that he was erected by them to defend this new and barbarous Gospel of theirs; and only upon fear of his further years they seek to put his noble person to death.

This, lo, is the devotion of Protestants towards their Prince, agreeable to their former opinions recited before. But of their divinity we make no further account than is requisite for this dispute now in hand with their fellow Protestants, and with those specially of England, who are the principal protectors of all these practices coloured by religion, whereof yet they have no further care than concerneth only their own interest. But it is sufficient for us that with these men (if we may believe either their words or deeds) it is no treason to resist the sovereign for defence of religion; nor no treasonable assertion to hold that a lawful prince may be deposed in case of revolt from God. And so say also on the other side all Catholic men and

schools in the Christian world concerning this point. But yet here is the difference between Catholic Christians and rebellious heretics: that these good fellows, following their own deceitful wills, and uncertain opinions, without rule or reason, do adjudge, by their private folly and phantasy, that thing to be error and idolatry which is indeed true religion; and do condemn for God's enemies such their lawful sovereigns as holy Church (which herein must be our chief informer and judge) doth allow for most just, godly, sacred, and Catholic princes.

The Catholics, contrariwise, as men of order and obedience, not trusting their own particular imaginations or partial affections, which might lead opinionative and restless brains to raise rebellion at their pleasure, under pretence of religion (whereof the Protestants have given us pitiful example these years past, whensoever the wicked desired change of governors and estate) do commit the direction of matters so important to the Church and to the chief governors of their souls who can judge by the Scriptures, Canons and Councils, what is heresy; who is a heretic; what prince is worthy to be excommunicated; who to be deprived; who is incorrigible; who may be expected in hope of amendment; who not; in what season and sort, to the least disturbance and most benefit and safety of the kingdom or place annoyed by such unworthy princes, the thing must be executed.

The Church is not partial in these things, as we that be subjects may be; it is not decent that inferiors should determine at their pleasures of their

superiors. What way therefore can we take in Christian religion more seemly and sure in conscience for these affairs than to hearken to the high priest of God's Church, by whose direction our consciences, in this case, cannot lightly err, or surely not so perniciously, when we follow them to whom Christ hath given the charge of our souls, and must render account thereof to Him, as to the supreme Bishop of all, by Whom and for Whom only all kings do reign. Catholics therefore (as you see) agree with the other in the point of deposing and resisting kings for religion, but yet do differ in the manner, as far as reason and conscience differ from fury and frenzy.

About which matter I will now set down some Catholic writers, albeit but few, for brevity's sake; yet of such excellent credit as shall be able to instruct and satisfy any reasonable conscience in this case; as also to be our brethren's defence against all those that charge them so deadly with these treasonable propositions.

Thomas Aquin, that glorious saint and clerk, whose only sentence weigheth more than all the Protestants wits and words in the world, saith thus: "Postquam princeps est denunciatus apostata, omnes inferiores et subditi absoluuntur a præstito juramento et obedientia illi debita"; that is to say: "After a prince is one denounced to be an apostate, all his inferiors and subjects are assoiled of their oath made unto him, and of their obedience due unto him." This case therefore is plainly resolved upon by the greatest of all the school doc-

tors, and therefore can be no treasonable assertion or opinion. Upon which words of St. Thomas the famous professor of our own time Francis Toledo writeth further thus: " Nota (saith he) quod eadem est ratio de excommunicato, quia cum primum quis est denuntiatus excommunicatus, omnes subditi absoluuntur ab eius obedientia. Licet enim sit notorium crimen principis, non absoluuntur vasalli a juramento, ut bene dicit Cajetanus, ante denuntiationem ab Ecclesia; qua facta, non solum sunt absoluti ab obedientia, sed tenentur non obedire; nisi forte propter periculum vitæ, vel damnum bonorum temporalium. Et sic de Henrico octavo in Anglia factum est: cui etsi subditi postquam denuntiatus esset excommunicatus, tenebantur non obedire; tamen quia is crudelis erat, et illos vel vita vel bonis privasset, excusati fuerunt subditi, illi adhuc obediendo." Which is in English: " Note " (saith he) " that albeit St. Thomas named only an apostata, yet the reason is all one in the prince's case that is excommunicated. For as soon as one is denounced or declared an excommunicate, all his subjects be discharged of their obedience. For though the crime of a prince be notorious, yet before declaration thereof be made by the Church, the vassals are not assoiled from obedience, as Cajetanus well holdeth; which declaration being made by the Church, they are not only discharged of their loyalty but are bound not to obey him any more; except it be for fear of their lives, or loss of their temporal goods. As it was in England in the time of Henry VIII., whom though the subjects were

bound not to obey after he was denounced excommunicate; yet for that he was a cruel man, and would either have killed or spoiled them, they were excused in obeying him." Thus doth this notable schoolman write; neither do we know any Catholic divine of any age to say the contrary.

We will not allege the Canon laws, which for that they be the decrees specially of Popes, whom our adversaries account partial, shall weigh little with them; though they be authentical in all the lawful tribunals of the Christian world, and make all heretics (not only after they be namely and particularly denounced, but by the law itself, *ipso facto*, as soon as they be heretics, or *de jure* excommunicated for the same) to be deprived of their dominions, though the subjects, until denunciation, need not take knowledge thereof.

Only it is not good to omit the definition and words of the famous Council of Lateran, celebrated above 300 years since; wherein there were Patriarchs and Archbishops 70, Bishops 412, and other prelates 800. In all, of the most chosen learned men of all nations, 1282; with the ambassadors of the Roman Emperor, of the King of Jerusalem, of England, of France, of Spain, and of Cyprus, as also of other Christian states; than which there can be no surer judgment upon earth; which assembly, representing the whole Christian world, would never agree upon any assertion traitorous. These then are the words of their most renowned decree, put only in English for brevity's sake.

"If any Lord temporal, required and admon-

ished by the Church, neglect to purge his state from heretical filth, let him be excommunicated by the metropolitan and conprovincial bishops. But if he contemn to come to order within one year's space, let relation be made to the supreme Bishop, that from thenceforth he may declare all his subjects to be discharged of their fealty towards him, and give up his land to be possessed by Catholics; which Catholics without all contradiction (when they have driven out the heretics) shall have and hold the same, and so preserve it in purity of faith: (the interest and right of the chief Lord ever remaining safe and whole, so that himself give no impediment to the execution of this decree). And the same law to take place in such also as be sovereign lords and have no superiors."

Thus both schools and laws speak and resolve for the matter in hand; both Catholics and Protestants agreeing that princes may for some causes, and especially for their defection in faith and religion, be resisted and forsaken; though in the manner of executing the sentence, and other needful circumstances, Protestants follow faction and popular mutiny; we reduce all to law, order, and judgment.

But for the further clearing of this cause we mean now, in the next chapter (by the help of God), to declare and plainly deduce all that hitherto hath been said in the premises, from holy Scriptures and warrant of antiquity; that all indifferent men may see how far we be from treason or undutifulness to our Princess in these our opinions, especially when by a certain violence we be coacted to utter the same.

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